DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 044 367 SP 004 385

AUTHOR	Nelson, Frankie Beth; And Others
TITLE	Negotiating for Professionalization. (20th National TEPS Conference. Washington, D.C., June 24-27, 1969).
INSTITUTION	National Education Association, Washington, D. C. National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards.
PUB DATE	70
NOTE	81p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Publications-Sales Section, NEA, 1201 16th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (Stock No. 381-11626; $1.50)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$0.50 HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	*Collective Negotiation, Curriculum, Governance, Instruction, Standards, Teacher Associations, Teacher Participation, *Teaching

ABSTRACT

This booklet is a compilation of selected papers prepared for the conference which dealt with the relationship between collective action through the legal process of negotiation and the need for teachers for self-determination and involvement in a variety of professional decisions and processes of a nonwelfare nature. "The Uncertain Society" by Frankie Beth Nelson sets the broad social context. "Professional Negotiation in Context" by D. D. Darland holds that the context should be one of a "viable design for the governing of the teaching profession." "The Scope of Collective Negotiation in Selected Urban and Suburban School Systems: Implications for Public Policy" by Jonathan P. West is a summary of a study of 44 medium-size school districts and 16 big-city school systems. "Canadian Experience with Negotiation" by S. C. T. Clarke tells of 25 years of collective negotiation by Canadian teachers. "Negotiation of Instruction in Michigan" by Karl H. Ohlendorf summarizes experience of the Michigan Education Asscciation. "Collective Negotiation in Curriculum and Instruction" by Robert J. Alfonso contends that curriculum negotiation is a self-defeating process. "Negotiation in Curriculum and Instruction: Another Step Up the Professional Ladder" by Girard D. Hottleman lists 30 areas of concern under three legitimate areas of negotiation. The report concludes with the closing remarks by Roy A. Edelfelt. An appendix lists 40 inhibitors of professionalization as reported by teachers. (JS)

EDO 44367

NEGOTIATING FOR PROFESSIONALIZATION

Permission to reproduce this copyrighted work has been granted to the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) and to the organization operating under contract with the Office of Education to reproduce documents included in the ERIC system by means of microfiche only, but this right is not conferred to any users of the microfiche received from the ERIC Document Reproduction Service. Further reproduction of any part requires permission of the copyright owner.

PROCESS WITH MICROFICHE AND PUBLISHER'S PRICES. MICROFICHE REPRODUCTION ONLY.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

Report of the Twentieth National TEPS Conference
Sheraton-Park Hotel • Washington, D. C. • June 24-27, 1969

National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
1201 — 16th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036

SP004385

Book design by Michael J. McGurk

Photographs by Joseph Di Dio, Chief; and Carolyn Salisbury, Photographic Section, NEA Division of Publications

Production editor, Geraldine E. Pershing, NCTEPS staff

Copyright © 1970 by the National Education Association of the United States. All rights reserved.

Single copy, $1.50. Stock No. 381-11626.

Additional copies of *Negotiating for Professionalization* may be ordered from the Publications-Sales Section, National Education Association, 1201 - 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Discounts on quantity orders: 2-9 copies, 10 percent; 10 or more copies, 20 percent. Orders for $2 or less must be accompanied by payment. Quantity orders not accompanied by payment will be billed with shipping and handling charges added.

Library of Congress Catalogue Card No. 75-115878

CONTENTS

Preface viii

Introduction ix

I The Uncertain Society, *Frankie Beth Nelson* 1

II Professional Negotiation in Context, *D. D. Darland* 11

III The Scope of Collective Negotiation in Selected Urban and Suburban School Systems: Implications for Public Policy, *Jonathan P. West* 15

IV Canadian Experience with Negotiation, *S. C. T. Clarke* **23**

V Negotiating for Instruction in Michigan, *Karl H. Ohlendorf* **29**

VI Collective Negotiation in Curriculum and Instruction, *Robert J. Alfonso* **42**

VII Negotiation in Curriculum and Instruction: Another Step Up on the Professional Ladder, *Girard D. Hottleman* **52**

VIII Remarks, *Roy A. Edelfelt* **60**

Appendix: Some Inhibitors to Professionalization as Reported by Teachers **66**

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON TEACHER EDUCATION AND PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS

Donald C. Roush, *Chairman 1969-70*
Academic Vice-President
New Mexico State University
University Park

Clara E. Cockerille
Professor of Education
Westminster College
New Wilmington, Pennsylvania
(Term expired June 30, 1969)

George W. Denemark, Dean
College of Education
University of Kentucky, Lexington
(Term expired June 30, 1969)

Marjorie Frazier, Teacher
Walker Elementary School
Wayne, Michigan

Margaret Grothey
Secondary School Teacher
Laconia, New Hampshire
(Term began July 1, 1969)

Frank L. Hildreth
Coordinator of In-Service Training
Des Moines Public Schools, Iowa
(Term expired June 30, 1969)

W. C. Meierhenry, Chairman
Department of Adult and Continuing
Education, Teachers College
University of Nebraska, Lincoln
(Term began July 1, 1969)

Dorothy V. Meyer, Teacher
Wellesley Junior High School
Wellesley, Massachusetts
(Chairman, 1968-69)

Marguerite Pasquale
Secondary School Teacher
Tucson, Arizona
(Term began July 1, 1969)

Bobbie Wilborn, Counselor
David W. Carter High School
Dallas, Texas

Lois Williams, *Chairman-Elect*
In-Service Consultant
Montebello Unified School District
Montebello, California
(Term began July 1, 1969)

STAFF

Roy A. Edelfelt, Executive Secretary

D. D. Darland
Associate Executive Secretary

Dirck W. Brown, Associate Secretary

Bernard H. McKenna, Associate Secretary

Martha L. Ware
Associate Secretary for Special Studies

Margaret Knispel, Assistant Secretary

Patricia M. Lawlor, Assistant Secretary

Osborne A. Payne, Director, NEA*SEARCH

CONSULTANTS

W. Theodore Boston, President
National Association of State
Directors of Teacher Education
and Certification

Doran Christensen, Chairman
Organization of State TEPS
Chairmen and Consultants

Charles Gonzales, President
Student National Education Association

Rolf W. Larson, Director
National Council for Accreditation
of Teacher Education

Edward C. Pomeroy, Executive Secretary
American Association of Colleges
for Teacher Education

Robert Poppendieck, Director of
Field Services, Bureau of Educational
Personnel Development
U. S. Office of Education

PREFACE

Taking a position on professional standards has always been easier than getting action. Educators who have had most to do with the professional standards movement often have depended on others to carry it into effect. In this report, a much different approach is suggested. The idea is that formulators and advocates of high standards must also be procurers, must get involved in the policy and agreement-making, must look to a variety of mechanisms for governance to establish and enforce standards of professionalism. Professional negotiation is one important mechanism for establishing standards. Whether it can also be a mechanism for enforcing them is yet to be determined.

Only the first steps have been taken in moving standards-setting to where the action is. Much will be learned as agreements reached through negotiation are tested. In a few years, it should be possible to be more precise about what can be negotiated best at the local level and what can be decided in other ways or at other levels. It is conceivable, for example, that a school faculty could so perfect a system of governance that they become wholly accountable for collective decisions through democratic professional procedures as members of a faculty.

So, this is just the beginning of a quest for better, more equitable governance of the education profession — with an emphasis on negotiation. The hope is that local associations will try to evaluate some of the many ideas included here and report on their experience.

Roy A. Edelfelt
NCTEPS *Executive Secretary*

INTRODUCTION

What follows is a compilation of selected papers prepared for the 1969 National TEPS Conference on "Negotiating for Professionalization." The conference attempted to deal with the relationship between collective action through the legal process of negotiation and the need of teachers for self-determination and involvement in a variety of professional decisions and processes of a nonwelfare nature.

Chapter I was selected primarily because it discusses a major dilemma of our time, namely, uncertainty and our ineptness in dealing with it. The author suggests that we invent new political forms and goals which "include extreme cognizance of the pluralistic nature of our society rather than coast along on the myth that the dominant group has a monopoly on what is true and good. . . ." Although not directly related to the problems of professional negotiation, this paper helps to set the context in which we all live and operate.

Chapter II attempts to establish a context for professional negotiation. Its major thesis is that the process should be perceived in a context of a "viable design for the governing of the teaching profession."

"The Scope of Collective Negotiation . . ." (Ch. III) is a summary of a study of forty-four medium-size school districts and sixteen big-city systems. Among other things it establishes that there are conflicting perceptions among school boards, teacher leaders, and superintendents about what should be negotiable. Obviously, matters related to curriculum and instruction are likely to create more difficulty than welfare items.

Canada has had much more experience with collective action on the part of teachers than we have, as revealed in Chapter IV. "For over twenty-five years Canadian teachers have bargained collectively with school boards on salary and working conditions." We have much to learn from them.

"Negotiating for Instruction in Michigan" (Ch. V) de-

scribes how bargaining in one state has systematically evolved to a point where teachers, through stressing negotiation for "a structure and a process," are becoming more concerned with instructional issues. The author holds that teachers should be involved in decision making in order to avoid polarization over matters of instruction. And there is no doubt about where the Michigan Education Association stands: "The MEA is convinced that the emergence of a tough, aggressive, and efficient teachers association with clear goals is prerequisite to the advancement of instructional objectives as well as salaries and working conditions."

Chapter VI, entitled "Collective Negotiation in Curriculum and Instruction," contends that "curriculum negotiation is a self-defeating process." The writer makes some predictions and lists what must be done "to move us in the right direction."

In Chapter VII, "Negotiation in Curriculum and Instruction: Another Step Up on the Professional Ladder," there are noted three legitimate areas for negotiation: "(a) conditions which affect the quality of the teacher, (b) conditions which affect the quality of the learning environment, and (c) conditions which affect the structuring of school-community relationships. . . ." Under these are listed about thirty areas of concern.

This report concludes, appropriately, with the closing remarks made at the conference by the Executive Secretary of the NCTEPS. They illustrate the extreme transition period the teaching profession is going through in this uncertain society.

Readers will be interested to know that the inhibitors to professionalization listed in the Appendix are based upon actual cases.

This document is a series of discrete papers and thus lacks the wholistic character of a book. But the reader who is involved with or interested in the negotiation movement in the teaching profession will probably find it worthwhile.

THE UNCERTAIN SOCIETY

Frankie Beth Nelson, Assistant Professor of Education
Queens College, City University of New York

I was tempted to title this address, "The Paralysis of Analysis" — a marvelous bit of rhetoric that has been generated by the student rebellions. I resisted the urge to plagiarize, however, only to be faced with a new worry that I would be trite if I prefaced *Society* with an adjective. I felt reassured when I reread some who have preceded me in this adjectival game. I was reminded that Jacques Ellul [1] has documented the determinancy of the processes of production in all the phases of his "technological" society. John Galbraith [2] has told us of our recalcitrant reluctance to allocate the resources intelligently in his "affluent" society. Robert Presthus [3] has described for us the totalitarian tendencies of bureaucracies in his "organizational" society. Michael Young [4] showed us great elegance of linguistic economy with his nonce word *meritocracy*. My own concern with uncertainty touches upon all of their attributions and I hope will deal with their cultural and human meanings as well.

What does it mean that production no longer requires the presence of human workers? What does it mean that our resources are unevenly allocated to public and private sectors, to the salaried and the unemployed? What does it mean that most of us are not involved in the decisions that vitally affect us (necessitating our resort to negotiation)? What does it mean that we no longer admire any but the clever?

These disarrangements of our traditional social customs and their attendant rationalizations have thrown us, I believe, into an uncertainty that paralyzes our ability to "know" the meaning of contemporary history. Lacking such knowledge, we experience it, as T. S. Eliot said, as "an immense

[1] Ellul, Jacques. *The Technological Society*. (Translated by John Wilkinson.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964.

[2] Galbraith, John Kenneth. *The Affluent Society*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1958.

[3] Presthus, Robert. *The Organizational Society*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962.

[4] Young, Michael D. *The Rise of the Meritocracy, 1870-2033*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1958.

panorama of futility." Modern man, because he knows so much, must realistically survey his random and purposeless universe, even if the complexity of the scene staggers his ability to comprehend it and then invent a purpose for his living within it.

As a concerned fellow educationist, I ask you to turn your attention to this condition of American life. I will not exhort you to "do something" about poverty, disease, and mental illness, for the press keeps us well informed of the multiplication of problems of this sort. I do not deprecate the seriousness of the problems, but I consider them merely symptomatic of the essential meaninglessness of it all. Signs of it are all around us.

For example, I do not share the black militants' interpretation of the meaning of the political assassinations of the past few years. Their assessments indicate their certitude that leaders near the citizenry are systematically eradicated in a master plot. I find it even more chilling that we have a social order so laissez-faire that it regularly produces the alienated individuals who perform such assassinations.

Students are adding their articulate voices about the meaninglessness and purposelessness of our society. But subscribers to *Reader's Digest* testify as well. They obsessively paste decals of the flag on their automobiles as a fetish symbol to ward off uncertainty. Yet, the flag no longer evokes the once-satisfying certainty of patriotism but only a shrill defensive jingoism. One of the worries I share with President Nixon is a certain disquiet that our flag should not symbolize bigotry, arrogant power, or general ennui. I might find some uniting symbol hidden in the patter of "Laugh-In," but more likely, the common uniting symbol of shared understanding is that new badge of power — the I.Q.

Today, if I were to discuss achievement with any parent in this country, I would not be alluding to the heroic deeds of some pillar of the state, certainly not to a military figure or even a celebrity such as a movie or television star. Any parent, whether from Ocean Hill-Brownsville or Forest Park, would know that "school" has become the implicit qualifier of "achievement" and that I meant school achievement.

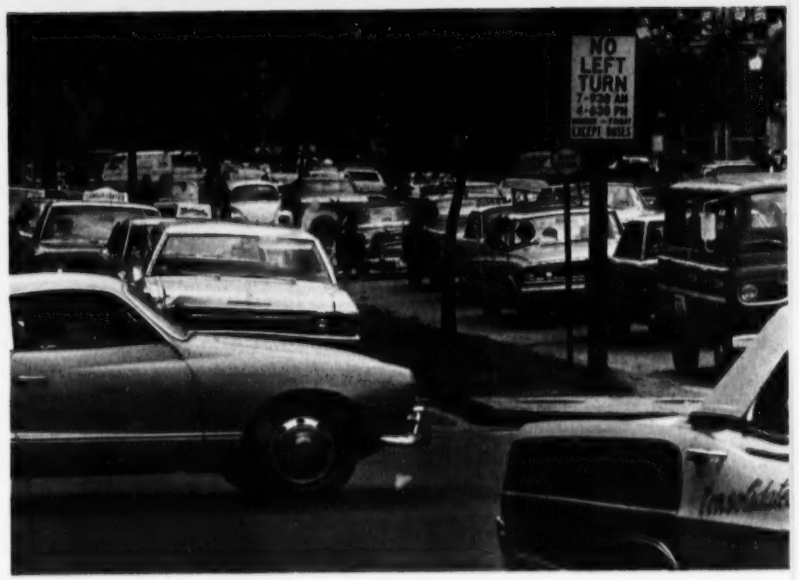
For purposes of sharpening our understanding of the uncertain society, let us turn our attention to what it is not — the certain society, or as the social scientists call it, the folk society. Erich Kahler[5] describes it as the society in which "all of life moves under mythical guidance [where] . . . reality is monumentally plain [and] . . . naturally comprehensive." Jacquetta Hawkes describes the monistic reality of such a group, in this case some Pueblo dancers. She says:

> *So, hour after hour, this total invocation goes on. No one of the drum-dazed villagers could explain in words just what is being done, yet everyone understands it. The words and steps and symbols have come to them out of the past and the depths of the psyche. They have come down to them through the endless chain of births; the small children at the lines' ends will carry them into the*

[5] Kahler, Erich. "The Nature of the Symbol." *Symbolism in Religion and Literature.* (May Rollo, editor.) New York: George Braziller, 1960. pp. 50-74.

future. The dance is a statement, a demand and a prayer in favor of the people and all their works. It unites men and women, conscious with the unconscious, mind and body, the village with nature and history.[6]

It is not my intention, however, to spin romantic Just-So Stories about primitive societies. Cross-cultural anecdotes have come to equal statistics in their ability to obscure truth. The meaningfulness and certainty generated by the ritual make Pueblo life more cohesive and consensual. They most decidedly would be out of context at this conference, although I would suggest that the goal of both the Pueblo dancers and the planners of this conference is *commitment*. The Pueblos' deep commitment stems from the meaningfulness of their culture for them. Every bit of behavior is rationalized by an emotionally charged "reason" which obscures its random and arbitrary inclusion. Among folk societies, when the "reason" is mythical, or "This is the way it has always been done," things are "true" only because the beliefs of the folk have made them "true." Rosenthal and Jacobson[7] have informed us that modern man is equally prone to making his beliefs "true."



[6]Hawkes, Jacquetta. "Automation and Imagination." *Harper's Magazine* 231: 92-96; October 1965. ©1965 by Harper's Magazine, Inc. Reprinted by permission of the author.

[7]Rosenthal, Robert, and Jacobson, Lenore. *Pygmalion in the Classroom*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968.

Modern man also shares with his folk counterparts the dislike for being "caught out" in his myths and rationalizations for why he does what he does. Historically, commitment and certainty have existed together and partially explain man's strong desire that what he considers "good" should also be "true." A rule-of-thumb proof of truth is to have others share one's belief while avoiding those who differ. Folk societies maintain consensus by excluding dissenters. Any who dare to dissent find themselves with "no people," which in the folk ethos is an impossible condition. Without dissent, alternatives to "the one way of life" are proscribed.

But, you may ask, what if a new situation arises (something unexpected) for which there is no cultural solution? Let us imagine a hunting band faced with famine and loss of game. Let us suppose that this band has a shaman who engages in scapulamancy. The scapula of a game animal is ritually placed in the fire to crack. The shaman reads its message: "We shall travel X days to the northwest, X days to the north . . .," and so on. This is an often-used illustration of functional social theory, for it provides a classic example of a sacred rationalization for undertaking a random course of action. It is preferred to behave randomly for sacred reasons rather than deliberately choose a random course. The divine sanction enables the band to set out with the certainty that their world is ordered and has "the way" for all matters.

Many folk societies have oversolved their problems of certainty regarding the truth of their beliefs by social mechanisms such as scapegoating and witchcraft. Thus, they shield their beliefs from the truth that modern man is finding so difficult to accept, no matter how prestigious the shaman (be he physicist or existential philosopher) who says that the physical universe is meaningless and purposeless. Until now, man has always invented purpose and meaning through his culture, which gives him "purity of viewpoint" through "purity of language" sufficient to generate purpose.

I am reminded of the practice among wealthy Arabs of the past generation who sent their young to the folk camps of the Bedouins in order that they might acquire "purity of language." In contrast, we have brought the folk to the city classrooms to preserve the essential folk "purity" of the pure language of complete sentences of schoolteacher English now used only for frozen, discursive purposes of doctoral dissertations, letters to the editor, and speeches such as this one. It is a language well suited to our social ethos, political institutions, and especially school practices (based as they are on what was, until recently, essentially a folk society). Today our industrial processes require heavy population concentrations which belie our rural and small-town origins. Of all our folk survivals, ethnocentrism probably plagues us most. By ethnocentrism, I mean the belief that one's own version of "good" and "true" is "the way." It merely seems quaint (and even natural) when folk people—who have been isolated from alternative practices —believe that their ways are superior. In the city, however,

where alternatives abound, the observer is struck by the irrational lengths to which man must go to preserve the rationalizing myth that his definition of "good" is also "true." The folk passion for purity of viewpoint[8] leads to segregation from challengers of his way so that he can socialize his children without acknowledging alternative ways of eating, talking, entertaining, achieving.

Other folk survivals are the sentiments about social cohesion and cooperation. They are examples of the pervasive influence of language upon thought. Schoolteacher English renders some facts most expressible, but social conflict and sex are almost unthinkable, for there are no words to think such things.

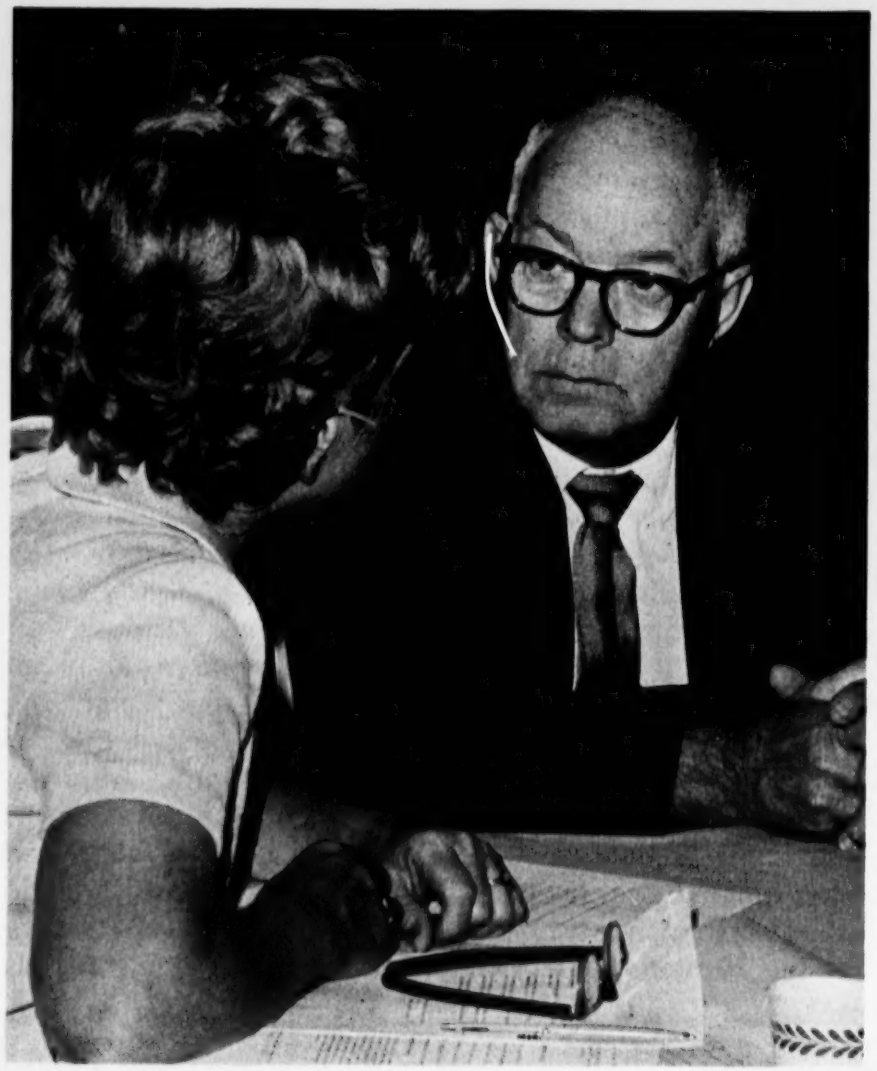
One way to deal with uncertainty is with knowledge. Only a few hundred years ago Francis Bacon said that "knowledge is power." With today's proliferation of facts, I have come to think that "knowledge is impotence." I fear we will be buried in facts unless the computer rescues us soon. So far, the computer's ability to "remember" facts and even structure them has only raised man's defensive hackles or else has given rise to fantastic myths of its power. For instance, last year in New York City no public question was raised when the Board of Education announced that *the computer* could not pay the teachers who were not striking. Cognizant as I am of the computer's check-writing duty, I still ponder that eight million people found this explanation satisfactory.

I have mentioned that modern knowledge as well as folk knowledge often come true through belief. Although we cannot make salt into sugar by believing it so, we *can* make a slow learner into a late bloomer, and we share with the folk the transformation of the homely girl into the beloved, beautiful Cinderella. Yet even salt as salt changes its meaning, depending on whether it is part of a sacred ritual, a high school chemistry demonstration, or a gourmet meal. The best illustration for the relativity of knowledge is the meanest parlor game since "Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolfe?" called "Humiliating the Parent" (otherwise known as the New Math) that has taught us all that a "12" may be almost anything, depending on its base. Not only is "what we know" under active question today but also "how we know it."

Let us look briefly at the classic modes of knowing: religion, science, humanism, and aesthetics.

Most often, man has gone to religion for certainty. The religious impulse is expressed in all cultures, although the degrees of commitment of its adherents are various. Our own society is largely areligious in my opinion, although survivals of folk religion are found here and there. The folk in Texas are still bewildered that Billie Sol Estes is considered immoral by the rest of the country. After all, he met the Bible Belt ideals of never drinking, smoking, or interacting casually with women. Such a moral code had been functional in his church when its goal was to provide rationalizations for members to substitute a heavenly future for the immediate gratification of lower-class life. Yet his

[8]Coser, Lewis A. *Functions of Social Conflict.* New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1956.



church retained these proscriptions as quaint survivals, such as the buttons on men's coat sleeves, when a more pertinent moral issue would be a man's relation to his government. Morality does not readily and easily evolve when it is believed to be so absolutely true it never contemplates the necessity for extending the matters for its concern.

It always amuses me that the few still among us who uneasily "believe" in religion always justify their beliefs by proving "scientifically" that God exists or that the Bible is true. This stems (I suppose) from modern theology's abstraction and its equivocalness about purpose, forcing those who want ultimate explanations about life to other ways of knowing.

The majority of our citizens seem to have placed their certainty in science. They believe that if anything is wrong with the universe, the scientists will soon solve it. They believe that scientists will defuse the population explosion, self-destruct man's noxious wastes, and restore nature's largesse that has been plundered to fill Woolworth's, Sears, and Safeway. A modern physicist has said that "modern man may have succeeded in emancipating himself from his belief in the magical powers of supernatural agencies only to plunge into an equally naïve commitment to the magical powers of science."[9]

The central tenet of scientism seems to be problem solving. The belief in our somewhat chauvanistic national view that we can solve any and all "problems" is probably a function of our delight in "doing." Our uncertainty here

[9]Andrade, Edward N. da C. *An Approach to Modern Physics*. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, Doubleday and Co., 1957. p. 259.

does not paralyze us into apathy but its opposite — the hyperactivity which soothes our security by "doing something about" whatever catches our restless attention — Vietnam, diplomatic tours to Latin America, or pure drinking water for the astronauts while we city dwellers left behind drink treated swill.

We scientifically read our scapula about the future. I recently overheard a black educator explain that he no longer attends educational conferences because they are too preoccupied with the year 2001 to do anything about the present mess. I suppose that audiences such as you listen to prophets, oracles, and seers (always in vogue during the stress of dramatic social change) because we indirectly speak to your question too awful to ask — "Is there a future?" Those who are familiar with my views know that I believe we all try to make ourselves smaller than we could be in order to avoid being hit by forces too terrible to name, so we skirt their full significance by referring to them by letters such as A, H, ABM, CBW, CIA.

I agree with Jacques Ellul[10] that the profound existential conditions of man, such as disappointment, aging, and death, come to be problems to be solved by manipulative techniques instead of searched for their deeper meaning. I deplore the problem-solving mentality mostly because it robs us of human suffering by labeling it "dumb." One suffers because he is too "dumb" to solve his problem. I consider it more noble to be "bad" than "dumb." At least being "bad" implies some will, while being "dumb" connotes genetically determinant and immutable incapacity. I worry about the "dumb" people who cannot solve their problems. What if the polity decided to give the death sentence to the "dumb" now that we no longer give it to the "bad"?

Actually, science never solved as many problems as the public gives it credit for. Scientists have always studied answerable problems, and they are not eager or even able to "solve" most of our society's problems — especially not as the society defines them.[11] For example, can you imagine educational researchers ever upending their perennial question of "how to interest children in school" to "how to interest the school in children"?

Humanism is the mode of knowing that most nearly gives us certainty. It holds up the good man at the apex of the social hierarchy for us to emulate. This is a model of man that I find more palatable than the statistical norm who is the social scientists' "man" to whom the mass media is beamed and whom half of the population lives down to. Although human foibles are tolerated by the humanists and man's capacity for good is acknowledged and encouraged, I agree with Father O'Dea[12] that humanist studies historically have fostered aristocratic elitism.

---

[10] Ellul, Jacques. *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes.* (Translated by Konrad Kellen and Jean Lerner.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965.

[11] Price, Dow K. "The Established Dissenter." *Science and Culture.* (Gerald J. Holton, editor.) Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965. pp. 109-44.

[12] O'Dea, Thomas F. "Three Faces of Western Man." *The Center Magazine* 2:67-78; May 1969.

My concern with teacher education has also led me to observe ethnocentrically that most of our critics are of this persuasion. They would solve all the problems of teacher education by recruiting the proper paragons into doing it.

The president of Teachers College, Columbia University, in his recent commencement address, enunciated what I guess could become known as the Fischer Principle. He took to task the educational institutions that recruit learners who already know whatever the school has to teach. He remarked, in effect, that schools stand on their admitting skills more than their teaching skills.

The mode of knowing through our senses that we call art or aesthetics provides us with some measure of certainty. Yet, we are very uneasy with this knowledge, for science has taught us to denigrate the subjective, intuitive part of our knowing apparatus. Visual perception, for instance, according to William Gordon,[13] "encourages a 'geographic' rather than an encyclopedic knowledge . . . learned by active discovery and participation." Cyril Connolly[14] defines art thus: "Art is the conscious apprehension of the ecstasy of all created things." Is it possible to say that anything is "good" or "beautiful" when all around us others say that quite different things are "good" and "beautiful"? I suppose it is too revolutionary to convince teachers that they should free their pupils from the taste-makers and taste-manipulators.

Our dilemma with certainty troubles us most in the realm of social policy and control. There seem to be two major sources for this uncertainty—our folk origins and processes of apathy, which are perhaps pathological forms of uncertainty, complicated by powerlessness.

I have told you that the form of social control in the folk society is highly repressive of all behavior that does not approximate its single prescriptive norm. Paradoxically, our political institutions are characterized by their laissez-faire legal stance based on an assumption that folk norms are sufficient to control the behavior of the citizenry.

My ethnocentricity again comes to the fore as I observe the prevalence of the norm that manipulation of people is "true," "right," "good," and even necessary. Many in the intellectual community subscribe to this view. The best known is B. F. Skinner. The most numerous are human-relations-oriented administrators. Neopopulist that I am, I feel that we have ignored the moral question while inventing that it is all right to do something to or for someone else "for his own good." I agree with Floyd Matson[15] that this is a naïve view that appears to bestow upon the rulers all the rationality it denies to the ruled.

David Rosenberg, one of my undergraduate students, turned up a good example of this in an article written for

[13] Gordon, William J. J. "The Metaphorical Way of Knowing." *Education of Vision.* (Gyorgy Kepes, editor.) New York: George Braziller, 1965.

[14] Connolly, Cyril. "Beyond Believing." *Encounter* 16:3-8; April 1961.

[15] Matson, Floyd W. *The Broken Image: Man, Science and Society.* Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, Doubleday and Co., 1966. p. 60.

the *New York Times* by Walter Degnan,[16] president of the Council of Supervisory Associations. Degnan described "the average citizen of New York" as having "neither the time nor the inclination to engage in participatory democracy." My student went on to point out the circularity of the establishment using the apathy it had fostered in its paternalistic zeal as the "reason" for even more of the same. It leads me to repeat Goulet's[17] question, "What of rebellion aimed at one incapable of entertaining the notion that he is an oppressor?" — an oppressor that sees his collective acts as "enlightened" benevolence. Our forebears' dreams of autonomous individuals who would value individual discretion and liberty seem to be flickering in the blow of leaders with a coercive bent to be "right." I believe we still have the nascent beliefs and a political process that permit (but do not encourage) participatory democracy. Individuals could regain self-control if there were any certainty that it is a worthy goal.

After all, doing something for someone else's "own good" belongs to the era of colonialists, missionaries, and parents administering spankings and castor oil. Today these have been replaced by a vast army of bureaucrats who manipulate and control human beings into the apathy that signifies that the presence of all that is human and in-

[16] Degnan, Walter. "Sounding Board: Four Major Figures Look at the Decentralization Dispute." *New York Times Annual Education Review*, January 9, 1969. pp. 67, 76.

[17] Goulet, Denis. "The Troubled Conscience of the Revolutionary." *The Center Magazine* 2:43-50; May 1969.

volved has absented itself and left automatons that could be rationalized into enslavement or even extermination in these irrational times.

The political arena of our country is considerably enlivened today by the challenge to the dominant establishment to determine whose version of "good" and "true" is institutionalized. This is a refreshing respite from the optimistic propaganda of the establishment that "everything will be all right if everyone tries hard enough and votes often enough." It is my own view that we must devise and invent new political forms — but that these are secondary to our political goals which I believe must include extreme cognizance of the pluralistic nature of our society — rather than coast along on the myth that the dominant group has a monopoly on what is true and good, while it is more accurate to say that they have a monopoly to impose their version of it onto the total society.

Because there are so many expatriates from folk societies in our cities, we hear a great deal of polemic about the "ills," "crises," and "problems" of the cities. Yet, I would remind you that *urbane* comes from the same root as *urban*. The truly creative, intelligent refugees from the coercive social order of folk societies have found haven in cities where they can contribute their talents to the urban society that challenges folk tyrannies as to whether what they believe to be "good" is really "true."

Man today has opened a Pandora's Box of unlimited alternatives in contrast to the social economies of folk societies that prescribe "the [one] way." Will and Ariel Durant's whole explanation of history is that any cultural enclave is enriched by the challenge from alternative cultural responses to man's condition. Myths and rationalizations lose their privilege of coercion once they are honestly and responsibly challenged.[18] The irony of coercive social orders is their uncool tendency to overdo their socialization. Man is not truly human except when he exists in a human community. His need for the community leads him to internalize — that is, to take on as his own — the culture of his society. If the society allows him to authenticate the culture to his own inner, subjective satisfaction, he will affirm it as his own. However, the excessive zeal of societies in coercing socialization has always led to malfunctions such as pathological deviancy, ills of the superego, and anomie.

I think the only certainty that our society needs is the security to be challenged and the flexibility to respond creatively rather than defensively. In this manner the society's welfare is advanced by the individual's welfare rather than the individual's repression, coercion, and, finally, absence.

[18] Wilkinson, John. "The Civilization of the Dialogue." *Center Occasional Papers* 2:2-8; December 1968.

PROFESSIONAL NEGOTIATION IN CONTEXT

II

D. D. Darland, Associate Secretary, National Commission
on Teacher Education and Professional Standards
National Education Association

Any nation that desires equity for its citizens must progressively sustain and maintain an ever greater open society. Such a society cannot promise to do away with politics, vested interests, and pressure groups. Moreover, perennial conflicts over the distribution of powers and rights to establish public policy and decisions are inevitable in a free society. In short, the existence of all manner of organized groups demanding to be heard is the very essence of a free society.

This concept, says Charles Frankel, "is precisely what marks democracy as a system resting on the consent of the governed. The politics of pressure groups is the essential feature of the politics of democracy. The only alternative to the politics of pressure groups is government that rules over isolated and rootless individuals who have no groups other than the government to protect them, and no autonomous social power of their own." Frankel goes on to explain that "the organized group is the basic instrument of the democratic citizen." And such groups must have enough power and influence "to command the attention of those who make the decisions."[1] Without the force of such groups, government by consent will be removed from the reach of the individual. Organized groups are almost our only bulwark against centralization of governmental power and the oligarchy of corporate power in a technological society.

Thus, although this discussion so far has centered around government in general and is oversimplified, it does establish a larger context in which the concept of professional negotiation should be perceived.

The legal right of the organized teaching profession to negotiate collectively is still too often viewed negatively rather than as one of the fundamental dimensions of the maintenance of equity and involvement for teachers in a free society. Although we may still long for the peace and tranquility of Walden Pond, where even a mouse was safe,

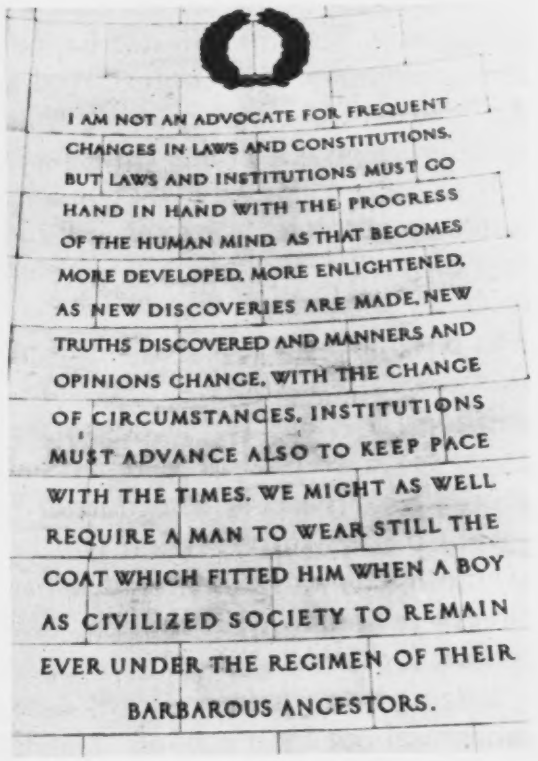
[1] Frankel, Charles. *The Democratic Society*. New York: Harper & Row, 1962. pp. 46-47.

teachers have no choice but to become ever more effectively involved in the politics of decision making in all matters related to education and their own profession. And, of necessity, this includes a broad spectrum of issues traditionally not so crucial to teachers and their opportunity for success. At the moment there are some still in heated debate over what is negotiable. Anyone in this day and age who has reared a family realizes that there are things negotiable today that even a few years ago seemingly were settled for all time. It is the process that is important. What is negotiable will depend on time and place; there is no reason to place a prior restraint on negotiation before the parties meet at the table by deciding in advance that some things are and some are not negotiable.

However, for optimum effectiveness, the art of professional negotiation must also be perceived in the context of a viable design for the governing of the teaching profession. To so perceive negotiation it is important to realize and understand that the teaching profession is not merely an organization but an entity (a profession) that functions in what we hope becomes an ever more open and equitable society. The instrument of professional negotiation is simply one of the important tools of the local, state, and national associations that represent teachers. Its ultimate effectiveness will surely depend upon the adequate functioning of other segments of the teaching profession as well.

For example, it is relatively simple for a local to negotiate for salaries, since the local school board most often is vested with considerable legal power for such policies. But consider the growing need to improve the training aspect of teacher preparation by involving prospective teachers much more in actual school situations. Here we have the preparation institutions involved, and there is an enormous gap between the public schools and such institutions. To bridge this gap will require the creation of some new approaches to accreditation of teacher education and certification of teachers that will be mutually acceptable to all parties concerned. This becomes a state and even a national concern that will probably involve the creation in each state of *professional* boards legally empowered to deal with accreditation and certification. If this were to occur, locals could then negotiate hiring policies consistent with such professional board policies. State and national associations can, of course, be the collective force for causing such boards to be formed, and so it might be important that local, state, and national associations distinguish among those things they can accomplish directly, those they can cause some other agency to do, and those they can only influence. Often much rhetoric and printer's ink are expended by organized groups on what they are going to do when upon inspection it is clear that, in a given case, they may be in a position only to influence. Strategy is important, and energies should be intelligently directed.

It is now common that associations write into negotiation contracts an agreed-upon procedure for handling grievances. This is commendable and proper. However, there are growing signs that it would be very wise to have a legally established professional commission to deal with certain


I AM NOT AN ADVOCATE FOR FREQUENT
CHANGES IN LAWS AND CONSTITUTIONS.
BUT LAWS AND INSTITUTIONS MUST GO
HAND IN HAND WITH THE PROGRESS
OF THE HUMAN MIND. AS THAT BECOMES
MORE DEVELOPED, MORE ENLIGHTENED,
AS NEW DISCOVERIES ARE MADE, NEW
TRUTHS DISCOVERED AND MANNERS AND
OPINIONS CHANGE, WITH THE CHANGE
OF CIRCUMSTANCES, INSTITUTIONS
MUST ADVANCE ALSO TO KEEP PACE
WITH THE TIMES. WE MIGHT AS WELL
REQUIRE A MAN TO WEAR STILL THE
COAT WHICH FITTED HIM WHEN A BOY
AS CIVILIZED SOCIETY TO REMAIN
EVER UNDER THE REGIMEN OF THEIR
BARBAROUS ANCESTORS.

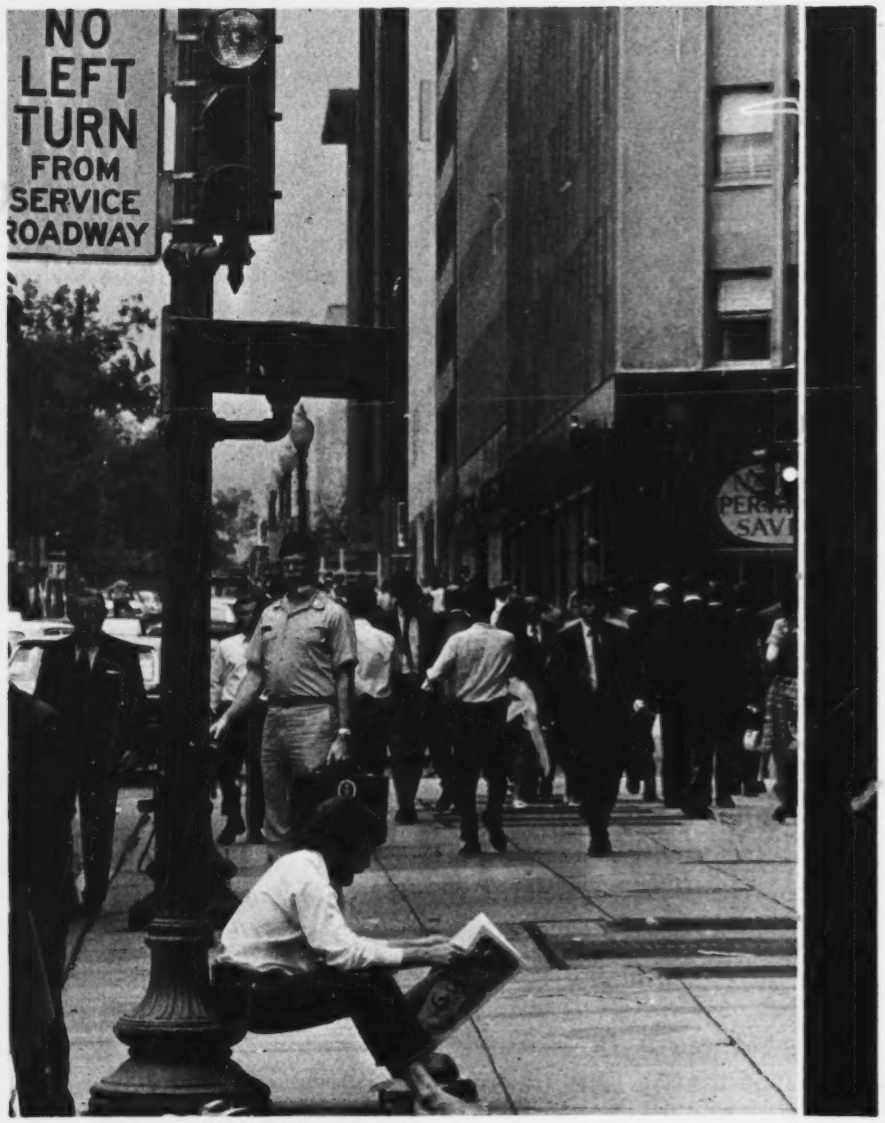
difficult ethics and competence cases. To have such machinery may serve to strengthen confidence in local negotiations. Under existing conditions, the local association may well be vulnerable to charges of conflict of interest. At least a part of wisdom seems to indicate the importance of careful study of this problem. For example, consider the case of a teacher who is being accused by the board of education of grossly unethical behavior during the time when vigorous local negotiation activities are under way. Here an outside third force may be an important instrument to ensure due process and also to clear the association of any possibility of being charged with a conflict of interest. Such a problem might be better dealt with by those outside the administrative jurisdiction and the local association involved in negotiation.

One could go on ad infinitum making a case for seeing the tool of negotiation in the context of a viable design for governing the teaching profession. And the case grows stronger as we use negotiation procedures more and more in the standards of curriculum concerns. Another way to say this is that, if negotiation is to become ever more effective, it must be seen as an integral part of professional governance. Although it is an imperative, it is not a panacea; it should not be expected to stand alone without the undergirding of other professional instruments and procedures appropriate to self-government and the necessary

accountability which must accompany rights delegated to a profession in an open society. There are those, of course, who are just waiting for the collapse of negotiation as a viable process. Some say the notion will fail of its own overindulgence, but this will not happen, because teachers are seeing negotiation in context. And as the process is refined, the idea will become routine. There just isn't much emotional mileage left in this issue.

It is quite clear now that much about our educational system is obsolete. We must enter into a vigorous reevaluation of goals upon which the system is to be based; quite probably this means that it will be based upon individualized programs for the clients (not to be confused with individualized instruction). To change a system will require liberating the mature teacher as well as creating new programs for the initial preparation and continuing education of teachers. Teachers who do not have the opportunity to govern their own profession will be deprived of the force of intrinsic motivation. And what happens to them is directly related to what happens to children. This is the true context for thinking about professional negotiation.

Judging from current student demands as well as parents' concern about local schools, as evidenced by demands for involvement and decentralization, teachers have done a good job of teaching the concept of the consent of the governed. Shouldn't that give us a warm glow? Should we ask less for ourselves?



THE SCOPE OF COLLECTIVE NEGOTIATION IN SELECTED URBAN AND SUBURBAN SCHOOL SYSTEMS: IMPLICATIONS FOR PUBLIC POLICY

III

Jonathan P. West, Management Analyst
Office of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army
(previously an instructor at Northwestern University)

This paper is a brief summary of the findings of a recent study of conflicting perceptions among school board members, superintendents, and officials of teachers organizations concerning the scope of negotiations.[1] The conclusions are based on research of forty-four medium-size school systems which are member districts of the Center for the Study of Educational Personnel Policies and sixteen big-city school systems included in the Research Council of the Great Cities Program for School Improvement. From the latter group, four urban districts — Milwaukee, Chicago, Washington, D. C., and San Diego — were selected for more intensive study.

Two research instruments were constructed. The first was a questionnaire which was mailed to officials of teachers organizations, school board members, and superintendents in the sixty urban and suburban school systems in seventeen states. The questionnaire asked the respondents, among other things, to select from a list of thirty-seven frequently negotiated policy matters those items which they think *are* negotiable in their school districts and those which they think *should be* negotiable.

The second research instrument was administered in personal interviews with the chief negotiators and members of the negotiating teams in the four big-city school systems which were selected for in-depth investigation. This instrument contained both open- and closed-form questions relating to the scope, priorities, and impact of negotiations.

A statistical appraisal of accumulated data concerning the scope of negotiations in the sixty urban and suburban districts studied warranted the following general conclusions:

1. The frequency of significant differences in perceptions of item negotiability is greatest between teachers or-

[1] West, Jonathan P. "The Scope and Impact of Collective Negotiations in Selected Urban and Suburban School Systems: Implications for Public Policy." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University, 1969. Copyright 1969 by Jonathan P. West.

ganization officials as a group and board members and between teachers and superintendents.

2. Teachers organization officials identified more items which *are* negotiable and more items which *should be* negotiable than either superintendents or board members.

3. Board members identified fewer items which *are* negotiable and fewer items which *should be* negotiable than either superintendents or teacher leaders.

4. Superintendents and board members responded to those items which *should be* negotiable in a manner more similar to each other than to teacher leaders.

5. The frequency of significant differences among teachers organization officials, board members, and superintendents is greater concerning those items which *should be* negotiable than it is concerning those which *are* negotiable.

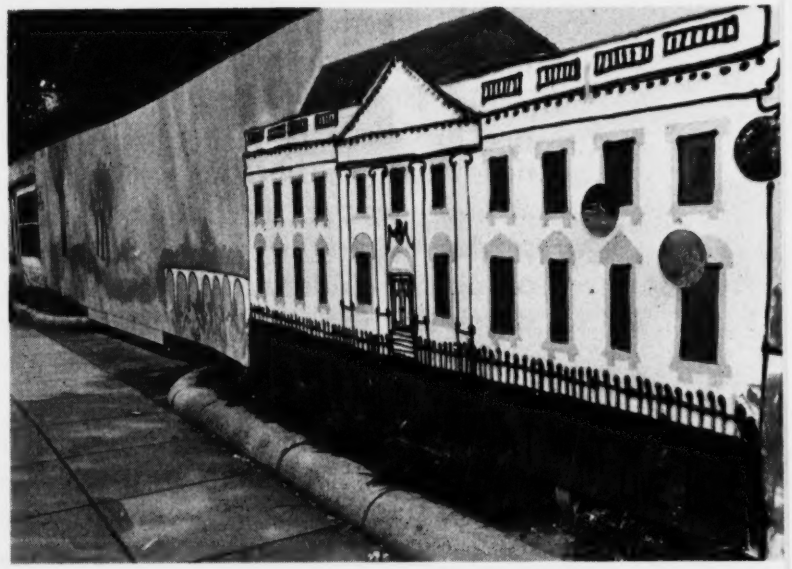
6. Conflicting perceptions on "actual" and "ideal" item negotiability are more pronounced on items related to curriculum and instruction than they are on items related to working conditions and personnel policies.

7. The policy items receiving the highest percentage of responses (more negotiable) from all respondents are more closely related to working conditions than to personnel policies or curriculum and instruction.

8. Within respondent groups, the frequency of significant differences between those items perceived to be negotiable and those items which *should be* negotiable is greater for teachers organization officials than for either board members or superintendents.

Where conflicting perceptions concerning what *should be* negotiable are most evident between teachers and superintendents, and between teachers and board members, the policy items include the following:

1. Procedures for teacher evaluation
2. Secretarial and clerical assistance
3. Pupil-teacher ratio
4. Individual contract terms
5. Qualifications for professional growth
6. Evaluation of teacher performance
7. Teacher transfers
8. Teacher personnel file (review)
9. Assault and pupil discipline
10. Dismissal and resignation
11. Curriculum review
12. Other than full-time teachers
13. Parent-teacher conferences
14. Racial integration of education
15. Teacher assignment to special education classes
16. Development of special education programs
17. Selection and distribution of textbooks
18. Pupil progress reports, promotion, and policies
19. Teacher qualifications
20. Promotion to higher classification.



In interviews, the chief negotiators and members of the negotiating teams in the four big cities were asked to identify policy items which they considered to be nonnegotiable administrative prerogatives. In Milwaukee, board negotiators mentioned policy items concerning recruitment and the hiring of professional staff, establishing job performance standards, establishing the budget, establishing programs in curricular areas, and establishing other provisions related to staff evaluation, taxation, and selection of building sites. One board member in Milwaukee was opposed to negotiations which would limit the flexibility of the board on policy matters or diminish its authority in giving direction to the entire educational enterprise.

The only items mentioned by Milwaukee teachers as nonnegotiable administrative prerogatives were the hiring, firing, and transferring of administrative personnel from the central office. Teacher negotiators could remember only two items which had been declared nonnegotiable in their sessions with the board's negotiating team. One of these would have provided for election of school principals and the other would have revised the primary curriculum. The general approach of negotiators in Milwaukee is to avoid negotiating on the question of what is bargainable; instead, they prefer to concentrate on one issue at a time.

Chicago teacher or board negotiators identified very few items as nonnegotiable. Those mentioned included estab-

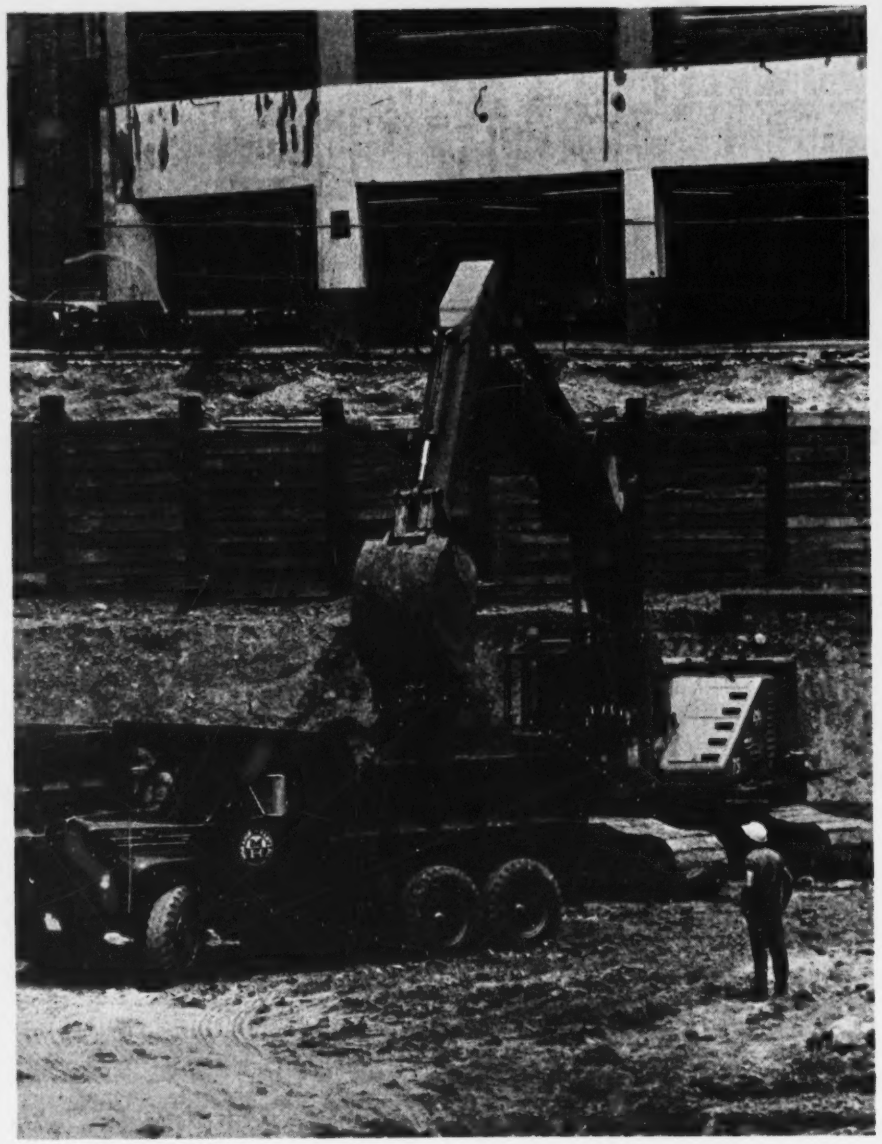
lishing the contents of the teacher qualification examination and the frequency with which the examination could be taken, establishing certification requirements for counselors and assistant principals, establishing an agency shop, selecting the superintendent of schools, and establishing the assignment of working conditions of administrative personnel. An example of a nonnegotiable administrative prerogative, according to one union official, would be policies which directly interfered with the principal's ability to do his job and which did not adversely affect teachers.

At least three items proposed in negotiations in the District of Columbia during the past year were declared nonnegotiable. These items were union proposals to establish advisory teacher evaluation of principals, to establish in-service training for principals, and to define a student bill of rights. In deciding which issues are bargainable and which are not, the administrative team in the District also prefers to negotiate issues one at a time. The board's team operates with no preconceived list of administrative prerogatives which are considered out of bounds for negotiation. When the union proposal defining student-teacher relationships was introduced, the board's chief negotiator took the position that the proposal was nonnegotiable since it had nothing to do with wages, hours, and conditions of employment and that teachers could not represent students in negotiations.

Some of the items which San Diego board negotiators identified as nonnegotiable were appointment of administrative officials; purchase of land in the master plan; location of school sites; decisions on the form, shape, and type of schools to be constructed; delivery of warehouse supplies; determination of the date and the amount of money requested in a bond issue; and teacher evaluation of principals.

Negotiators in these four districts were also asked to rank their top five priorities for negotiation from a list of fifteen frequently negotiated items. Teacher negotiators in all four cities mentioned teacher-pupil ratio (class size), grievance procedures, and duty-free periods for planning among the top five.[2] With the exception of Washington, D.C., members of the teacher teams in every city selected teacher transfers as a top priority item. Duty-free lunch periods were mentioned as a top priority item for teacher negotiators in Washington, D.C., and Chicago, while Milwaukee teachers were concerned about teaching hours or days and San Diego teachers considered evaluation of teacher performance to be a major priority. In Washington, D.C., contractual provisions relative to curriculum review

[2]The priorities of teacher negotiators are not necessarily the same priorities held by the rank-and-file teachers in each school system. Similarly, priorities of the administrative team representing the school board may differ from the priorities of the board as a whole. Alan Rosenthal reports data on the incongruence between rank-and-file and teacher leadership opinions in New York City. He found that "rank-and-file define bargaining objectives more narrowly than do union leaders. The former think in terms of conditions of employment, the latter conceive of bargaining possibilities more expansively." (*Pedagogues and Power*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1969, p. 112.)



have been among the major policy objectives of the Washington Teachers Union. It is not surprising, therefore, that District teacher leaders selected curriculum review as a top priority item.

Administrative team negotiators in all four cities identified qualifications for professional growth as one of their highest priority items. Board representatives in three of the four cities think teacher qualifications and teacher transfers are among the most important items considered in negotiations. In Milwaukee and Washington, D.C., administrators are concerned about evaluation of teacher performance and procedures to be used in such evaluations. In San Diego, where California law permits the negotiation of matters related to curriculum and instruction, members of the administrative team put decisions concerning pupil-teacher ratio and those related to school calendar among their top priorities. In Chicago, the selection and distribution of textbooks is a salient issue for board negotiations.

In Chicago, Milwaukee, and San Diego, both teacher and board negotiators mentioned that policies regarding teacher transfers were one of their top priorities for negotiation. In Milwaukee and Chicago the issue of teacher transfers was introduced by the board negotiators. In each of these cities the administrative team was attempting to gain greater flexibility in the existing transfer policy so that the administration could place more experienced teachers in those schools where the need for experience was greatest. Members of the teachers' team, on the other hand, opposed such limitations on teacher transfer rights, favoring instead a system based on senoirity within a school or systemwide seniority of the teaching staff. Where administrators have unlimited transfer rights, teachers regard this as an administrative prerogative fraught with potential dangers. Moreover, since this item is a matter of priority for both negotiating parties, each seeking opposing and incompatible objectives, it is likely to be an issue of conflict in negotiation.

Teacher officials selected pupil-teacher ratio as the number one priority item in Milwaukee, Chicago, and San Diego; it was the second highest priority item in Washington, D.C. These findings parallel those found by the San Francisco Classroom Teachers Association in a survey asking teachers to rate items which they thought should be given top priority by the local negotiating council. Of the one thousand respondents to this survey, most mentioned class size.[3] While administrative negotiators are often sympathetic with teacher preferences for reduced class size, limitations on class size are costly to implement. For example, a move to decrease average class size from thirty to a negotiated maximum of twenty-five students would mean a 16.67 percent increase in teacher salary costs.[4]

According to union leaders in Chicago, it would cost $3 million to reduce class size throughout the city by one

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

[4] Rehmus, Charles M., and Wilner, Evan. *The Economic Results of Teacher Bargaining: Michigan's First Two Years.* Research Paper No. 6. Ann Arbor: Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Michigan, 1968. p. 19.

pupil. In Milwaukee, school officials said it would cost more than $1 million to reduce class size by one pupil citywide. In 1969, the union leadership in Chicago negotiated a $2,320,000 program for reduction in class size. This amount fell far short of the union's stated objectives. Similarly in Milwaukee during 1969 contract negotiations, $300,000 was allocated for reducing class size, a figure considerably less than the amount needed to implement MTEA goals for negotiation.[5] Thus, it is apparent that administrators and school board members in these two cities are hesitant to allocate the funds necessary to implement the teachers' proposals on maximum class size, even though they recognize these proposals as legitimate.

In conclusion, the data presented in this study carry the following implications for public school policy and administration:

1. The differences among superintendents, board members, and officials of teachers organizations on what *is* negotiable suggest the lack of clarity of present agreements. Important policy matters affecting teacher qualifications, curriculum review, selection and distribution of textbooks, and qualifications for professional growth are examples of matters which are poorly understood.

2. The extent of conflicting perceptions of teacher leaders, board members, and superintendents in the larger sample, particularly on the "ideal" measure of item negotiability, suggests the possibility of heightened conflict in determining the scope of negotiations. The absence of agreement concerning what *is* negotiable and what *should be* negotiable on numerous items between teachers and the other two leadership groups presents an obstacle to the establishment of effective and constructive negotiation procedures.

3. The finding that nearly two-thirds of board members and superintendents think that the thirty-seven selected items presented to them should be more negotiable than they are at present suggests that administrators may mellow in their opposition to collective negotiation on specific matters after having some experience with the process. Also, they appear to favor extending the process of negotiation to include certain items.

4. The partial correlation coefficients for board members' and superintendents' responses on "actual" and "ideal" measures of item negotiability are higher than those for either of these groups and for teachers. Furthermore, the relative absence of significant differences between board members and superintendents in this sample and the frequency of significant differences between superintendents and teachers suggest the need for reevaluation of the superintendents' role in negotiation. The traditional role of the benevolent and authoritarian superintendent of schools is that the superintendent himself could represent the staff's best interests in negotiations with the board of education. It would appear from the findings in this sample that such a role is inappropriate, and that for administrators to serve effectively as spokesmen for teach-

[5] *Milwaukee Journal*, November 17, 1968.

ers' interests they must modify old attitudes regarding policy matters suitable for negotiation.

5. The findings from the larger sample and the case studies indicate that negotiation of items closely related to working conditions involves less conflict relating to negotiability. This is due to similar perceptions of item negotiability among the three groups. The likelihood of conflict, particularly between teachers and superintendents, may be greater when negotiating items in the area of personnel policies. This is due to differential perceptions of item negotiability. However, the area of curriculum and instruction is where conflicting perceptions of "actual" and "ideal" item negotiability are greatest. The conflict is most evident between board members and teachers. This suggests that items for negotiation closely related to the teaching process are most likely to produce conflict.

6. While there was general agreement between board members and teachers on the negotiability of items classified as working conditions, findings from the case studies reveal that teacher leaders identify many more policy items under the category of working conditions, and they identify fewer items in the curriculum-and-instruction and personnel-policy categories than do board negotiators. In education, controversies are likely to occur over whether an item is a "condition of employment" and therefore a legitimate item for negotiation or whether it is a matter of "educational policy" which the board is unwilling to negotiate. The findings of this study suggest that teachers have a broader interpretation of working conditions, or conditions of employment, than do board members.

7. Teachers in the four big-city school systems agree on the top priority items for negotiation; board negotiators in these cities also agree among themselves on bargaining objectives. However, teachers and board representatives do not agree with each other on these matters. Teacher negotiators in all four cities mentioned class size, grievance procedures, and duty-free planning periods among their top five priorities, whereas board negotiators in these cities identified qualifications for professional growth, teacher qualifications, and teacher transfers as highest priorities.

CANADIAN EXPERIENCE WITH NEGOTIATION

IV

S. C. T. Clarke, Former Executive Secretary
Alberta Teachers' Association, Edmonton

Even though education in the United States is a responsibility of the several states and therefore varies from one to another, there are a number of common features. For example, collective bargaining, or professional negotiation, is now widely practiced as a means of determining salary.

Similarly in Canada, education is a function of and varies with each of the ten provinces. And as is true of the United States, it is possible to make some generalizations. They are based on my experience as Executive Secretary of the Alberta Teachers' Association from 1958 to 1968.

CONCERNS OF TEACHERS

In our society, people are demanding a voice in decisions which affect them. Teachers as a group share in this demand to have some say in determining conditions which control their lives. But because education affects children, parents and other taxpayers, the community, and the nation, these groups also want a say in the decisions. Conflict and accommodation finally determine "who decides what."

The concerns of teachers can be summarized as follows:

1. *Teachers want to do a good job.*

The greatest satisfactions expressed by teachers come from the feeling of having provided excellent service. The bitterest complaints center around factors which prevent this, e.g., teaching assignments inconsistent with preparation and preference, too heavy work loads, large classes, insufficient supplies, lack of clerical assistance.

Teachers want a say in the specific curricular objectives of the schools; they oppose bitterly being judged on impossible objectives such as college entrance when the students are not of college-entrance caliber. Teachers want a say in curricular content; they resent the charge of "irrelevance" when they have no say in the decisions. Teachers want a smoothly operating school; they do not want to continually have to face crises or heavy community pressure. This concern has often been attacked as conservatism. Per-

haps it is. But if the schools have to change, teachers have to feel secure in the change.

These are some of the manifestations of the chief concern of teachers: to do a good job. This concern provides the drive which ensures that the nation will have good schools. It is in the public interest.

2. *Teachers want to earn a decent living.*

Teachers demand that their pay be comparable to that of others who have similar preparation and that it be high enough to attract and hold a sufficient quantity of high-quality people to staff the schools.

3. *Teachers want professional autonomy.*

This is a complex concern, with many manifestations. It is basic to the challenge of lay control over education and to the internal struggle about the authority of administrators. It is exemplified in the typical teacher's dislike of supervision. It is also basic to teachers' reluctance to leave the shelter of the self-contained classroom for team arrangements. It lies behind the concern of teachers for the preparation of neophytes in the teacher education institutions.

4. *Teachers want recognition.*

Teachers want society to recognize the importance of education, to accord it status, and to provide for education in the manner which it deserves.

These four concerns provide the engine for change in education.

MACHINERY

The concerns of teachers are partly situational, i.e., dependent on local conditions, but mostly occupational, i.e., dependent on the present state of the occupation. Canadian experience with machinery which has provided avenues for the realization of each of these concerns is illuminating. Teachers' concerns do not fit neatly any organization of education, except for one — collective bargaining.

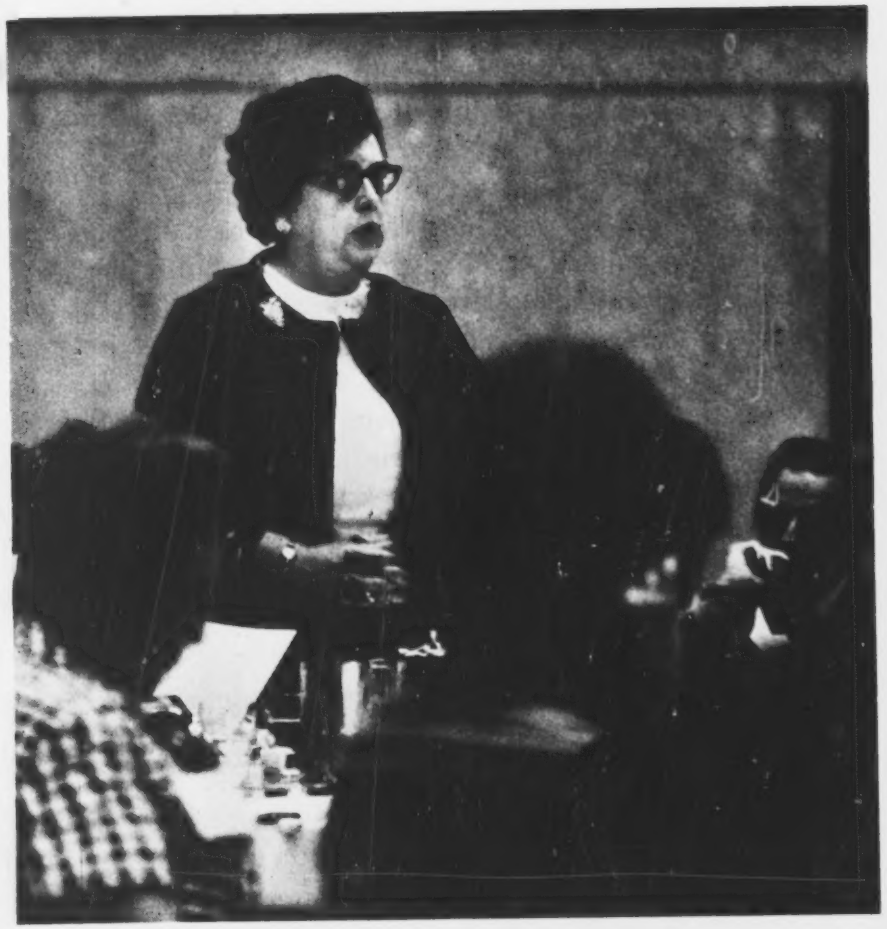
Collective Bargaining

In all of the provinces of Canada, teachers bargain collectively with school boards on salary and, in general, on working conditions. In Alberta the bargaining is done by the local unit, with the Alberta Teachers' Association being the bargaining agent called on in time of dispute. In Alberta this collective bargaining falls under the Labour Act and has the familiar bargaining, bargaining agent, conciliation officer, conciliation board, postconciliation board mediation, strike, or lockout stages. The bargaining unit includes supervisors, principals, and other administrators except the superintendent and assistant superintendent, and the collective agreement specifies the salary of all personnel in the bargaining unit. Typically, sick leave with pay and other types of leave are included.

It is possible for me to look back and note that collective bargaining has worked well for twenty-eight years in determining salary and, to a limited extent, working conditions for Canadian teachers. While Alberta teachers always affirm that everything is negotiable, in practice the chief item is pay. School boards have resisted bargaining about other matters, and teachers have found other avenues through which to influence decisions.

Another observation after twenty-eight years is that collective bargaining as a tool has not solved our salary problems. More and more, Alberta teachers are realizing that the financing of education must be adequate. If the dollars are not there, teachers can bargain until they are blue in the face without much effect. Unless state and federal funds supplement local levies, the foreseeable tremendous increases in the cost of operating schools will be borne, in part, by impoverishing teachers.

Two other problems remain: the boundaries of the bargaining unit (who are included and who are excluded from the collective agreement) and how much shall be covered by the collective agreement. These matters are still hotly debated and are the locus of struggles for control.



The Teaching Profession Act

Starting in 1934, Canadian provinces enacted teaching profession acts and Canadian teachers have had long ex-

perience with them.[1] There is no doubt that their experience demonstrates a teaching profession act can solve the problems of jurisdiction, membership, support, discipline, and governance of the profession.

A teaching profession act solves the *jurisdictional* problem by requiring all teachers to be members of one, and only one, organization. To some this requirement may seem undemocratic, but the advantages of one voice and the justice of requiring all who benefit to share the costs outweigh this doubt.

A teaching profession act solves the problem of *membership*. All teachers must belong.

A teaching profession act solves the problem of *support*. All teachers must pay the fees decided by the group. Often there is some special provision about the manner of deciding a fee change, such as a requirement for a two-thirds majority.

A teaching profession act solves the problem of *discipline* by granting to the teachers association it establishes statutory rights to discipline its members. Establishing and enforcing codes of conduct is a most important aspect of any occupational group which aspires to have professional status.

A teaching profession act solves the problem of *governance of the profession* by establishing the internal machinery (bylaws or constitution, election procedures, officers, meetings) required for governance.

Finally, a teaching profession act ensures responsible action in the public interest because it is enacted by the legislature (elected by the people) and can be amended or repealed by the same legislature.

Such an act, although it accomplishes much directly, really provides machinery through which teachers can seek to influence decisions which affect education. Legislation which provides for broad rights in collective bargaining and in governance of the profession paves the way for direct influence in other areas.

Representation

In the fields of teacher education and certification, curriculum, organization and administration of schools, and educational finance, Canadian teachers do not rely on collective bargaining or the teaching profession act to provide machinery for a voice in decisions. Rather, they use the positions ensured by these provisions to seek representation on various boards, councils, committees, and other groups which advise or control or to urge the enactment of regulations or laws which provide representation.

[1]The interested reader should consult Smith, B. Othanel, and others. "Preparation in the Governance of the Profession." *Teachers for the Real World*. Washington, D. C.: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1969. Chapter 11, pp. 135-49, prepared in substance by D. D. Darland. This chapter sets forth in detail the machinery required for professional standards for teachers. Canadian experience reinforces Darland's proposals, since most Canadian provinces have had a teaching profession act for over thirty years, so the effects can be studied.

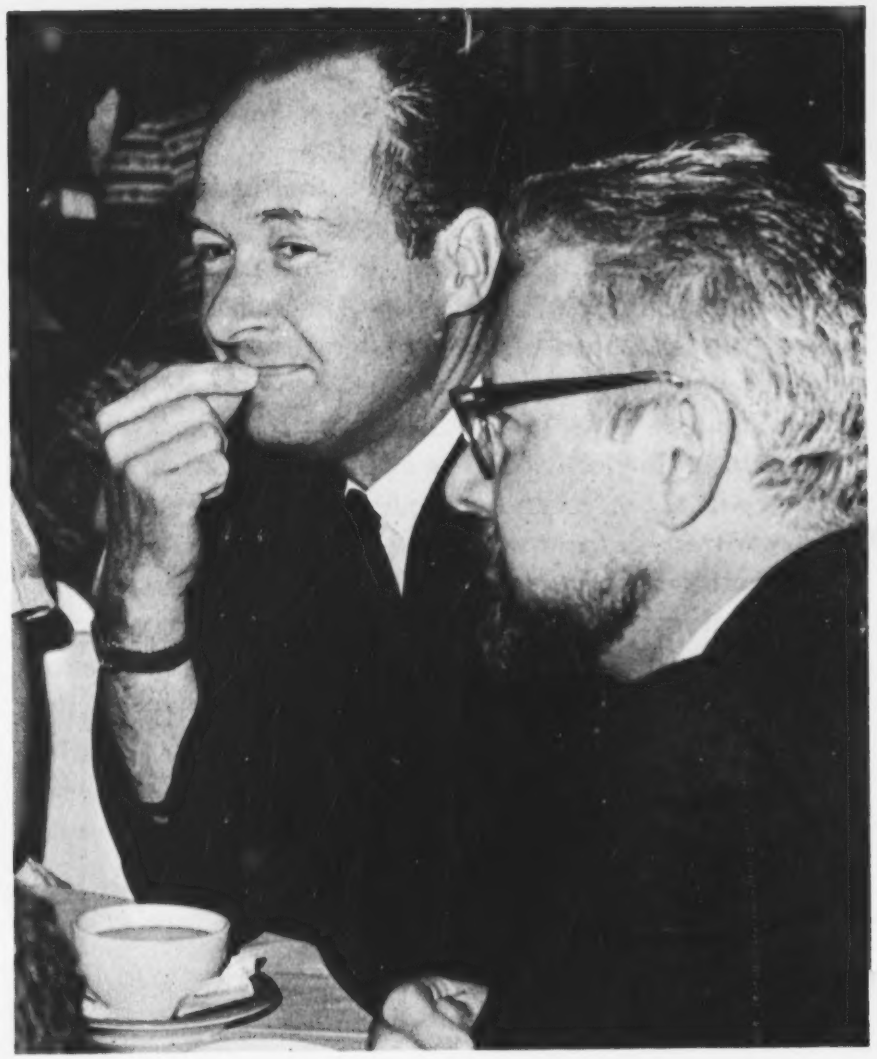
For example: The Alberta Teachers' Association, through a provision of the Universities Act, appoints a representative to the Faculty of Education Council in each university. By Order-in-Council it appoints four out of twenty-one members to the Board of Teacher Education and Certification. As a result of an agreement brought about by pressure, it appoints the teacher members of provincial curriculum committees. It is represented on a committee appointed by the Department of Education to propose a complete overhaul of the provisions of the School Act.

This kind of representation and this mode of seeking representation are familiar. The rub comes when the appropriate authorities ignore repeated requests. The only response to this is for the group to demonstrate that they cannot be safely ignored.

The experience of Canadian teachers organizations has been that increasingly, through representation, their voice is recognized and respected in decisions about teacher education and certification, curriculum, organization and administration of schools, and educational finance. Based on a strong organization (ensured by a teaching profession act) they have adequate financial support (fees are usually over 1 percent of salary), a strong professional staff (usually about one per 1,500 teachers, paid in the $15,000-$30,000 range), and policy based on continuous study of problems and regular updating.

Tenure

No occupational group has made any worthwhile progress toward professionalism if the position, salary, and right



to carry out the job are at the whim of a lay board or if the lay board determines the standards or criteria of tenure. The matter of tenure is a crucial one, as experience in colleges and universities has demonstrated.

Canadian experience with tenure is that legislation in the School Act or Education Act establishes machinery. In addition, the teachers organizations establish elaborate machinery and services of their own. The legislation usually deprives the lay board of the unilateral right to fire teachers or demote administrators, and as is commonly the case, requires "cause" and "procedure." Canadian teachers organizations at the provincial level provide staff and committee services which can be requested by teachers or their local organization. Countering the board's ultimate right to fire or demote is the ultimate right of the teachers organization to inform its members (and the members of other teachers organizations) about what happened. In the period of teacher shortage since World War II, the effect of this procedure on recruitment has been so great that the general tenure picture for Canadian teachers has been very favorable.

SUMMARY

For over twenty-five years Canadian teachers have bargained collectively with school boards on salary and working conditions. For a still longer period they have had teaching profession acts which secure jurisdiction, membership, support, discipline, and governance of the profession. On these bases the teachers organizations sought and obtained representation to influence decisions on teacher education and certification, organization and administration, curriculum, and educational finance. Canadian teachers organizations depend on legislation to provide machinery in tenure cases and on the blacklisting effects of informing teachers to ensure justice in firings and demotions.

The machinery outlined provides ways of satisfying the real concerns of teachers: to do a good job, to earn a decent living, professional autonomy, and recognition. Canadian experience, as outlined above, suggests multiple machinery rather than reliance on and overuse of one type. This observation, while true, does not mean that the Canadian way is the only way or the best way. It is one way and it has worked, not perfectly, but well.

NEGOTIATING FOR INSTRUCTION IN MICHIGAN

V

Karl H. Ohlendorf, Assistant Executive Secretary
for Instruction, Michigan Education Association

The Michigan Education Association has taken the position that anything pertaining to the teaching-learning process is a potential subject for collective negotiation. To negotiate an instructional item means to involve the teacher in educational decision making via his local or state association.

Collective negotiation is a new route which may lead to the professionalization of teachers. The old concept stressed individual bargaining power based primarily on the amount and quality of a teacher's preservice education. The new one stresses the bargaining power of the group and places heavy emphasis on in-service education. Three basic items make for easy categorizing of bargaining goals:

1. *Conditions of entry* — the improvement of preservice standards for teachers as a condition for entering and continuing in the bargaining unit.
2. *Continuation in service* — the establishment of viable practices and emphasis on continuing professional growth of the teacher.
3. *Improvement of the instructional program* — the participation of teachers as a group in systemwide decisions which affect the content and organization of instruction.

These categories can be distinguished from negotiating welfare items in that they invariably place the practitioners in the position of assuming additional responsibilities which are thought to improve their productivity and benefit the client.

The use of the collective-bargaining technique to professionalize the American teacher is still in its infancy. McPhee summarizes well the present state of affairs:

> *It may well be that the changing role of the teacher will bring teachers more directly into what Cunningham . . . has called the allocation-decision team. If such participation deals substantially with the welfare of children, then improvement may in a sense become insti-*

tutionalized. However, if such decisions are concerned primarily with teacher welfare, then this may sharply reduce the influence of teachers on educational improvement by creating institutional barriers to change. Strong unions in fields other than education have seldom sought changes other than those relating to welfare and working conditions.

At this time, however, it appears that teachers are more likely to be acted upon than to be actors in the beginning of the improvement process. The impact of militant teacher organizations is yet to be seen.[1]

What follows will give the reader some idea about the current situation in Michigan.

In a recent address, Robert G. Howlett, chairman of the Michigan Labor Mediation Board, stated:

Our mediators have found little interest by teachers in policy questions. Teachers are interested primarily in money, both salaries and fringe benefits. The three board members believe, however, that this attitude may change. Michigan teachers have received substantial salary increases during the last three years, placing Michigan third highest in the nation. Money will be more difficult to come by; hence, teachers may turn to development of better educated children.[2]

The statements by McPhee and Howlett are impressive in their similarity. On the other hand, Marilyn Steele, currently working on her doctoral study, found that:

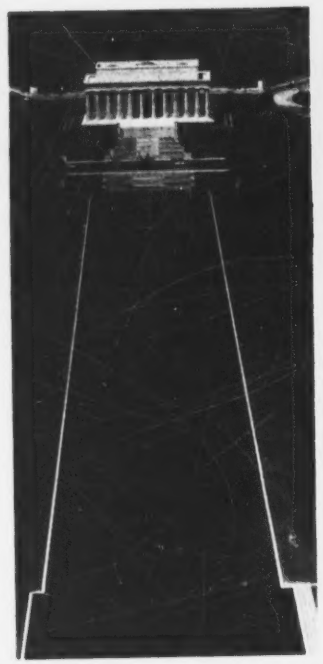
1. There were significantly more instructional items negotiated in Michigan master teachers' contracts in 1968 than in 1967, indicating that each passing year additional instructional provisions will be written.
2. Large districts tend to write more instructional provisions than small ones, but the difference is not significant.
3. Michigan Education Association contracts stress the following areas: teacher preparation, professional growth, textbook selection, integration, supplies, aides, code of ethics, hours of service, duty-free lunch, extracurricular activities, and educational conferences.

Of the thirty items in this study, clerical aides, special programs, and academic freedom were mentioned least in MEA contracts. Miss Steele also found a relationship between high per-pupil expenditure in a school district and the number of instructional provisions in the master contract. She recalls that per-pupil expenditure has been recognized traditionally as a standard of educational quality.

For several years we in Michigan have stressed the negotiation of a structure and a process designed to involve the

[1] McPhee, Roderick F. "Planning and Effecting Needed Changes in Local School Systems." *Planning and Effecting Needed Changes in Education.* (Edgar L. Morphet and Charles O. Ryan, editors.) Designing Education for the Future: An Eight-State Project, No. 3. New York: Citation Press, 1967.

[2] Address to the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service Seminar, Atlanta, Ga., January 23, 1969. Reproduced for the professional staff and professional negotiation consultants by the Office of Professional Negotiations, Michigan Education Association.



teacher in educational decision making. Called by various names such as instructional council, curriculum council, or professional study committee, these structures are designed to give teachers and administrators an opportunity to discuss educational problems throughout the year in a cooperative setting. One of the basic considerations in the establishment of such structures was the feeling that a "thin" contract was preferable to a "thick" contract. Thick contracts, we believed, would likely become a new source of bureaucratization and rigidity in the schools. We also hoped that instructional councils would prevent some polarization of school personnel over instructional issues. *Several hundred of these councils have now been set up and are beginning to function. We do not think now that they will be fully effective for a number of years, and we know that they are not necessarily a substitute for hard bargaining. Thus, inevitably, thin contracts will be getting thicker.*

As we see it, there are a few formidable obstacles to the utilization of teacher power in bringing about change in the schools. The first of these is the question of implementation. Bargaining itself is a slow and tedious process which demands much in time and energy from the teachers. When the contract is signed, however, much of the teachers' task is done in the areas of salaries, fringe benefits, and physical improvements of working conditions, such as paved park-

ing lots or telephones in the teachers' lounges. The negotiation of instructional items, on the other hand, often demands from the teachers additional time and energy during the school year, such as committee work and in-service training. Such demands, whether they are brought to the teachers by their peers or by the administration, are often rejected, especially if participation in these activities is compulsory.

It seems that one of the unexpressed bargaining goals of Michigan teachers is to delineate more sharply the boundary between work and nonwork. Historically, it has been difficult to make such a clear distinction in teaching, and communities and school boards have often asked services of their teachers far beyond their daily responsibilities in the classroom. Teachers, like other citizens, perform many different roles in our society, and the modern teacher must differentiate between his teaching role and his role as a citizen, father or mother, husband or wife, and so on. Internal differentiation of the school and increasing specialization also have contributed to what might be called segmental involvement of the teacher and the school. This development ironically comes at a time when the extra-curricular, co-curricular, and curricular aspects have become somewhat fused and the school becomes, from the students' point of view, more of a total institution. The services of young people are no longer needed extensively in the fields or in the factories, and "keeping the kids off the street" is a valuable service which the school performs for its tertiary client, the community. Whatever the end result of such a development may be, teachers have become conscious of the old American value that "time is money."

The second major problem in involving the teacher in instructional decision making is related to the first. Teachers have never been trained to assume what has been up to now a purely managerial function. They know, however, that time and money are resources which can be converted into expertise if necessary. *As a result, the MEA is now recommending that the establishment of instructional councils be accompanied by adequate funding in the form of a separate budget line item and that the committee work of a council be facilitated by the establishment of a released-time bank.*

The underlying reason for involving the teacher in instructional policy making is not only to enhance the professionalization of the teacher but also and mainly to bring about improvements in the instructional program which utilize the knowledge and expertise of the practitioners. Teachers have worked for many years on committees, made recommendations about new programs to administrators and the school board, and it is no secret that they have often been frustrated in their attempts to bring about change. The instructional council is a parallel structure to the bargaining process. If the teachers are unsuccessful here, they still have the option of bringing unresolved issues or items to the bargaining table. Unfortunately, however, all school budgets are in the end limited by constraining factors beyond the power or control of school authorities. It has

been true on the whole, as Howlett said, that in the past few years teachers have preferred to put additional monies into teachers' salaries. This, according to information we have, has not hurt the instructional program since the ratio of expenditures between teachers' salaries and instructional programs has remained remarkably constant after several years of collective bargaining in Michigan. It does, however, limit large-scale improvements in programs unless they are funded by the federal government.

Those who have watched the unionization of the teaching force in Michigan often draw parallels to developments in industrial settings. They are quick to point out that one lesson to be learned from the history of the labor movement is that unions have confined themselves to negotiating for higher salaries and better working conditions and have stayed out of the policy-making areas. Teaching, of course, is work, and parallels can be drawn between one category of workers and another. On the other hand, much of the work of the teacher involves personal judgments based on knowledge and experience which far exceed similar decisions made by the factory worker. It might be well to ask here: What are some of the factors which favor greater participation of the teachers in Michigan in instructional decision making?

First, I believe there has been a significant change in the control and goal direction of the professional association. Lortie[3] remarked recently that "there is a considerable lack of clarity as to who belongs to public school teaching and who does not. It is nearly impossible to set up self-rule until you decide who is in and who is out. And American school teachers just haven't been able to make this decision." I would suggest that the teachers in Michigan are well on their way to deciding "who is in and who is out." They are in the process of delineating clearly the relationship between themselves and the administrators. They have also begun to take steps to look at the relationship between the classroom teacher and the teacher trainer. As a result, the Michigan Education Association has become truly an association of teachers, for teachers, and by teachers. A parallel development has been a greater specificity of goals and a more rational channeling of the resources of the Association to achieve those goals.

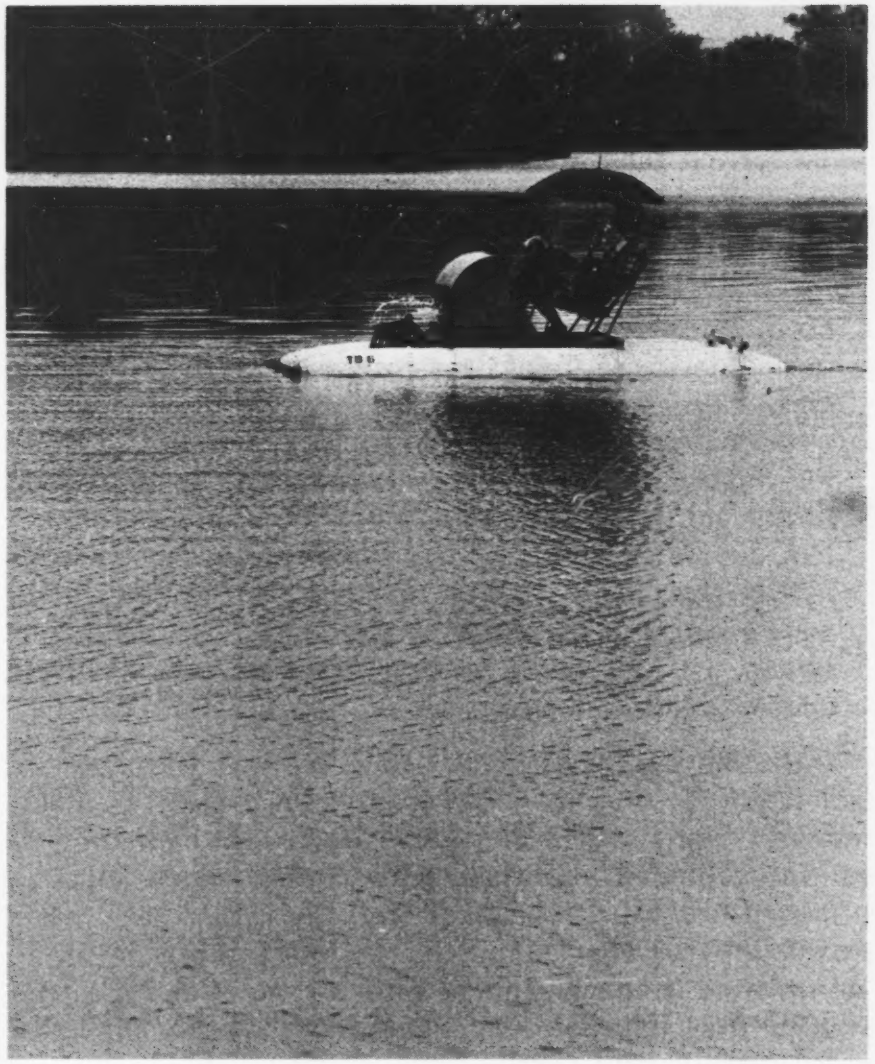
Second, the Association has changed from an organization which largely promoted improvements in the field of education to one which is much concerned with the implementation of programs. In the last two years, for instance, the teachers have built and paid for and continue to support a first-rate educational training center. They have purchased and are operating a retirement home for teachers, likewise supported by the profession. Most important, however, they are implementing, through their state and local structures, a collective-bargaining law. For all practical purposes this law bypasses the State Department of Education,

[3] Lortie, Dan C. "Can Teaching Move from Semiprofessional to Professional Standing?" Address to the National Education Association Seminar on Professional Negotiation in Public Education, University of Chicago, August 2, 1966. Edited and reproduced for members by the MEA Office of Professional Development and Instructional Services.

the traditional implementing agency for educational statutes. This has put a severe strain on the human and financial resources of the Association, but the teachers have responded with alacrity, raised their dues when needed, and developed an amazingly efficient organization.

Third, the Association has built up a considerable pool of teachers who are trained in the art of professional negotiation. It must be remembered that only a few years ago these veterans of the negotiation process started with little or no knowledge in this area. By investing some of their time and energy, they became experts not only in professional negotiation but in the art of organizational leadership. These trained leaders are now beginning to turn negotiation responsibilities over to some of their colleagues, although they have no intention of retiring from Association work. Instead, these self-confident, competent, and aggressive leaders are now turning their attention to "professional areas." They know that once again they will have to invest time and energy, and they are willing to do so. This development may be a major factor in the expansion of MEA programs in the instructional area.

Fourth, we are beginning to see that collective bargaining is indeed an excellent technique to improve the quality of education. It does not prevent the teachers from being innovative. Most Michigan teachers carry on their daily work in a system which is not of their making and of which they are only a part. Some, perhaps, would like to restructure the whole system, but for the most part, this is not feasible. Improvements have to be made over time and somewhat piecemeal. Major innovations have to be accepted by many groups who have an interest in the school, and persuasion backed by the power which is inherent in the collective will is still a major tool of progress. The instructional area is of such bewildering diversity that issues usually have to be reduced to manageable size and tackled in the order of priorities. This is slow and tedious work, but it contains the promise of progressive thought. We must view the workaday world of teaching as it is experienced by the practitioner in his classroom every day. But we have not become conservative. In fact, Michigan teachers have told us that they expect some leadership from their Association, especially on the state level. They want their Association to be always a step ahead of the times so that there will be some direction. This year, for instance, the MEA has begun to look into the area of teacher evaluation and suggested that master agreements contain provisions for collegial evaluation. We are also moving ahead in the area of human relations and are now taking a look at the changing sociolegal scene with respect to student rights. We are not unmindful that the system itself may need changing and are preparing recommendations to teachers in the area of auxiliary personnel and differentiated staffing. In short, whenever we tackle a new subject or issue in instruction, we look with one eye toward the master agreements. To speak about instruction these days in Michigan without taking into consideration professional negotiation no longer makes any sense.



Fifth, there has been a decided change in effective power from the state to the local level. When an organization enters the arena of collective bargaining, its greatest power is exerted at the bargaining table. Walter Reuther made this point for the automobile workers when he said:

> *For twelve years under Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal, where we had favorable governmental climate to make progress on pensions and social security, we made no progress whatever. Then we said: Okay, we've got to use our leverage at the bargaining table to try to facilitate greater progress through legislation. And in Ford, which was the first pension plan negotiated, we tied together the private benefits with the public benefits and within forty-eight hours after we adopted the Ford pension system, where we required the employer to pay the total cost of the private pension, as contrasted to the worker paying half and the employer paying half in the public system, we got action out of Congress that we were unable to get in twelve years.*[4]

Education is still very much a local business and there are still hundreds of small districts even in a state as highly industrialized as Michigan. While this creates many organizational problems, especially since similar services must be provided to local units regardless of their size, it also has a tremendous advantage: the total number of teachers who are involved in organizational work is greater under such a system. It is this personal involvement of the individual teacher which is important for professional growth. There are fewer opportunities to "let George do it." Thus, collective bargaining has become a huge training ground for teachers and an immense opportunity for the Association to confront the individual classroom teacher with the problems of his profession. It also stimulates creativity on the part of local education associations. Again and again we are pleasantly surprised to find that teachers have tackled an issue locally and have resolved it in a way which is not only professionally acceptable but fits the local situation. Thus, one of the functions of the state Association is to inform one group of teachers about ways which other teachers have used to solve similar problems.

Sixth, we should not overlook some of the important outside pressures which are at work in forcing teachers to involve themselves on a larger scale in instructional decision making. As educational costs continue to rise and as taxpayers, school boards, and legislatures search for new ways to finance these services, the questions are being raised more and more: What are we getting for our money? and How can we get better service at the same price? These questions are not unusual, but of late they are raised with increasing persistence. Generally, three answers are being proposed:

1. *Assessment of the product.* Here we find that the ideas of national assessment, state assessment, and local assessment of productivity of the schools come into play. In Michigan, state assessment in the form of state-

[4]Quoted in Tannenbaum, Arnold S. "Unions." *Handbook of Organzations.* (James G. March, editor.) Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1965.

wide student testing has been proposed and we are reasonably sure that such a program will be under way soon.

2. *Teacher evaluation.* School boards and the public not only are looking at the final outcome of schooling but are beginning to look at the performance of teachers. In Michigan, one of the most important tasks for the Association lies in the development of adequate teacher evaluation procedures. We are working on a system which includes the idea of collegial evaluation and focuses on three areas: (a) adequate procedures, (b) adequate criteria, and (c) adequate skills and observation.
3. *Restructuring of the school.* We are experiencing increasing insistence on the part of school boards, taxpayers, and parents that we examine the present organization of the schools. We are asked to utilize school facilities on a year-round basis and to take individualization of instruction seriously. In response, we are examining proposals for restructuring the school year, team teaching, nongrading, differentiation of staff, the utilization of paraprofessionals, and other such ideas or programs.

The modern association of teachers cannot abdicate its responsibilities in these areas if it is serious about the professionalization of teaching.

Marilyn Steele,[5] at our request, provided the MEA staff with a rank-ordered list of ten items which in her opinion have greatest promise for instructional improvement. She believes that these ten items are the ones which the MEA should bargain for "if members want to retain a public image of a professional organization rather than a labor union."

1. Massive *in-service education* programs for teachers.
   Comment: The Association is aware of the needs in this area, and we are not only beginning to negotiate specific days in the calendar for in-service education but stressing the idea (a) that teachers must be involved from the beginning in the planning and developing of innovations, and (b) that the implementation of innovations in the schools must be accompanied by a well-planned staff development program.
2. Teacher involvement in *curriculum review.*
   Comment: We are stressing the idea of involvement throughout the state but have not advocated the negotiation of specific curriculum content.
3. Teacher involvement in *textbook selection.*
   Comment: This is the lowest form of involvement in curriculum review. Our view is that the fully professionalized teacher has access to a variety of instructional materials of his own choosing and is not dependent upon a single textbook.
4. *Teacher aides.*
   Comment: At present, the question of auxiliary per-

[5] "Recommendations for Instructional Provisions Directly Related to Research." Unpublished paper prepared for the MEA staff, May 1969.

sonnel is under review by the Association. We are especially interested in the selection, training, utilization, and remuneration of teacher aides who are under the direction of classroom teachers and assist them in the performance of instructional duties.

5. *Special programs,* not only for physically, mentally, and emotionally handicapped but for the socially alienated as well.

   Comment: The MEA is beginning to become involved in this area, and our interest in student rights and student conduct is increasing. A by-product of this interest undoubtedly will be a greater focus on special programs.

6. *Free planning periods during* the school day so that teachers who work together (e.g., team teachers) can plan together.

   Comment: This area coincides with our effort to provide noon aides for teachers, especially in the elementary schools, and we are insisting, in general, that teachers be given more time to plan during the school day.

7. *Pupil progress reports* need a complete overhauling.

   Comment: Pupil progress reports are a part of the public relations work which is the responsibility of our teachers. The MEA is recommending that teachers use a combination of parent-teacher conferences, standardized tests, and reports which state student progress in *behavioral terms.* We believe that the parents have a right to know what their children can do.

8. *Parent-teacher conferences* without students in attendance should be guaranteed at least once each semester.

   Comment: See No. 7.

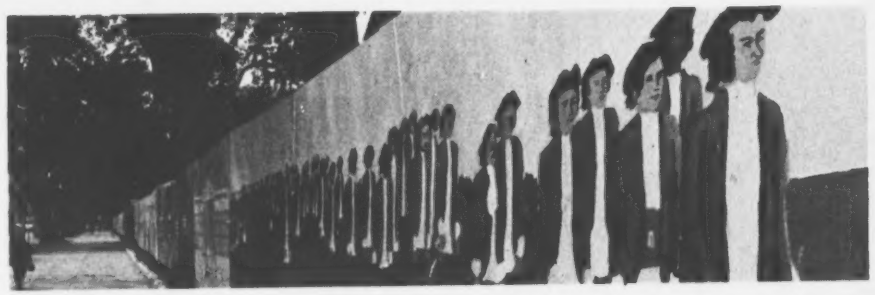
9. *Teacher evaluation.* The Federation rejects evaluation completely. The MEA must develop a workable model with teacher representation in evaluation procedures.

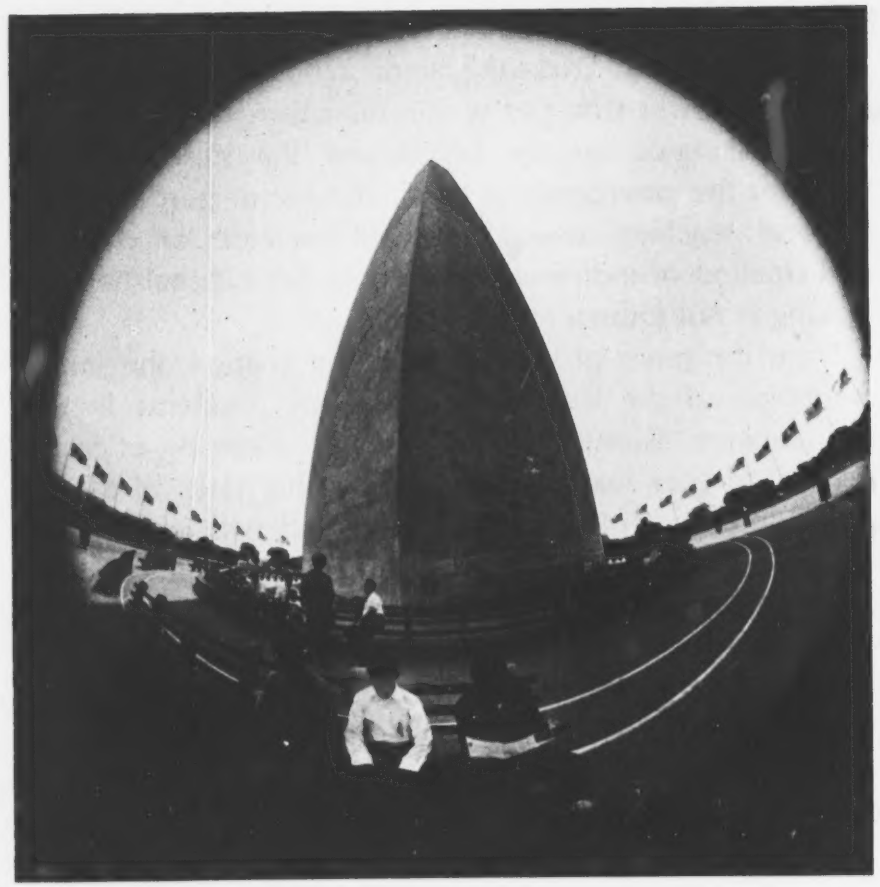
   Comment: We are working on such a model.

10. *School visitation* is one of the most effective ways to bring about change in teacher performance.

    Comment: Up to now we have approached this problem more in the sense of providing liaison with parents through community aides. We have given little attention to the process of school visitation.

This paper has stressed the role of the professional association and the bargaining process as important vehicles for the professionalization of teachers. It has emphasized the leadership function of the association and the continuous function of education, which must often precede actual bargaining. Bargaining for instruction is still very much in its infancy, but teachers *are* bargaining in this area. Further, it has examined some trends which may assist the profession in further progress. The belief was stressed that at this stage of the game there is really no substitute for aggressive bargaining across the table, and it was noted that we had to change our minds on this.





Collective bargaining is, of course, essentially a technique of confrontation. We know that in a hierarchically ordered organization the rights and privileges of one position become the duties and obligations of the adjacent position, and vice versa. Thus, the rights and privileges of the teachers become the duties and obligations of the principals, and vice versa. We are in a period of expanding teacher rights and I know of few people who take on additional duties and obligations without at least some objections. The problem of our teachers however, is, that they cannot indefinitely expand their rights and privileges without taking on some additional duties and obligations. This may be a job for the individual teacher or for the group. Let me return once more to the problem of implementation.

From the point of view of collective bargaining, preparation for bargaining, bargaining, and the policing of the agreement are parts of the implementation of the state statute. After a time these tasks become routine managerial work. To meet this demand, the MEA found it necessary to create field service area centers, to expand its urban executive director program, and to press ahead with an even more ambitious local staffing program which is designed to benefit our smaller associations. (It is interesting to note that the urban executive directors have emerged as a new type of educational administrator, employed and paid for exclusively by the teachers.) There has also been

a complementary development on the side of management, and according to Erickson,[6] some school districts already have had power struggles within management between the chief negotiator for the board and the superintendent. Whether the emergence of paid full-time or part-time staff in local teachers associations will increase or decrease participation of individual teachers in educational decision making is not known at this time.

From the point of view of affecting change, the implementation of the state statute presents problems in unit maintenance. Continuous training and retraining of teachers and teacher leaders is one of the big tasks of the organization. In order to meet this need, we are utilizing the MEA Conference Center at Battle Creek and area centers, and we have added staff at the state level. (We expect heavy emphasis on instructional topics in the next few years, and the total number of topics in the area of instruction far exceeds that which can be negotiated in the areas of salaries and working conditions. One of the by-products of this emphasis will be a clearer distinction between "working conditions" and "instructional items.")

[6]Erickson, Kai. "New Dilemmas for Management in the Michigan Public Schools." Unpublished paper, May 21, 1969. Reproduced for professional staff and professional negotiation consultants by the MEA Office of Professional Negotiations.

What I wanted to emphasize in this paper was that the question of what Michigan teachers should bargain for and how are no longer issues. We are more concerned with creating environmental conditions which bring desired results. Collective bargaining is no more than a technique. Perhaps it is the most important method that we have available at this time, but it is not the only one. We know that we must increase our political action potential. We also know that the bargaining efforts of teachers have put a new light on our public relations requirements. In the past it has been one of the major tasks of the superintendent to explain the goals of the school district to the taxpayers. Today the teachers must share this responsibility.

The MEA is convinced that the emergence of a tough, aggressive, and efficient teachers association with clear goals is prerequisite to the advancement of instructional objectives as well as salaries and working conditions. But we are not sure what the relative emphasis will be which the teachers intend to place on the respective areas in the future. This much we know for sure: no modern society rewards its technicians to the same extent that it rewards its fully professionalized servants. In a democratic organization such as ours, the final decision is up to the teachers. At this moment in time, all indications in Michigan point to the desire of the teachers to be more than just another labor union.

ADDITIONAL READINGS

1. Hecker, Stanley E., and others. "Survey of Selected Provisions from 480 Teacher-School Board Agreements, 1968-69." Research Report MR-26, 1968-69. East Lansing: Michigan Education Association, 1969.
2. Lortie, Dan C. "Involving the Teacher in Instructional Policy Making." Address to the First Statewide MEA Conference on Instruction, April 15, 1967. East Lansing: Office of Professional Development and Instructional Services, Michigan Education Association.
3. Michigan Education Association. "Sample Michigan Education Association Agreement, 1969-1970." Restricted copy for use by local affiliated units. East Lansing: the Association.
4. Michigan Education Association, Office of Professional Development and Instructional Services. "The Instructional Council in Action." Report of curriculum council recommendations, 1967-68. East Lansing: the Association.
5. ———. "The Structure of a Curriculum Council: *One* Model for Involving the Teacher in the Process of Educational Decision Making." East Lansing: the Association.
6. Michigan Education Association, in cooperation with National Education Association. "A Survey of Teacher Attitudes Concerning Negotiations in Michigan Education Association Negotiating Units." Research Report MR-1, 1968-69. East Lansing: the Association, 1968.
7. Rehmus, Charles M., and Wilner, Evan. "The Economic Results of Teacher Bargaining: Michigan's First Two Years." Research Paper No. 6. Ann Arbor: Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Michigan and Wayne State University, May 1968.

COLLECTIVE NEGOTIATION IN CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION

VI

Robert J. Alfonso, Assistant Dean for Instruction and Graduate Studies, College of Education
Kent State University, Ohio

One need look back only a few years to find that the topic of collective negotiation was missing from the conference programs of groups like the American Association of School Administrators. The term and the process have sprung into general use in an amazingly short span of time. Perhaps the times are right, but educational institutions, historically slow to change, have been affected rapidly and significantly by collective negotiation. Every educational administrator and every careful observer of the contemporary scene knows that collective negotiation has become a dominant concern of today's superintendent. It is unfortunate, but it is true.

The National Education Association officially entered the world of negotiation in 1962 by action of the Representative Assembly at the Denver Convention. In four years (and this should give encouragement to Spiro Agnew) this relative unknown called negotiation did, indeed, become a household word.

Much has now been written, spoken, and lamented about collective negotiation — so much so that one despairs of finding any new light to shed. The task here, however, is not to review and debate the whole spectrum of controversy and difficulty in negotiation but to look at just one facet of it — the concern about the effect of negotiation on curriculum and instruction.

Curiously, this concern has not had the attention which I think it should have. Perhaps we have been too caught up in battles over the headline makers such as salaries, fringe benefits, and working conditions to have noticed the way in which negotiation has reached into the area of decision making about curriculum and instruction. Of course, some superintendents have been concerned about this, but to my knowledge, it was not until 1966 that an article dealing specifically with this concern appeared in

---

A speech presented at the convention of the American Association of School Administrators, Atlantic City, New Jersey, February 1969.

a national journal.[1] There has been some follow up since then. The April 1967 edition of *Impact,* the journal of the New York Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, was devoted to this concern; it was a major topic at several recent ASCD national and regional conferences; a recent issue of the national ASCD journal has an excellent article;[2] and an ASCD task force on negotiation has completed a document which will soon be published. The most thorough statement to date is probably the one by Bishop.[3]

How Did We Get Where We Are?

Many administrators (if not most) are still a little bewildered by the negotiation blitzkrieg. We are still stunned and are trying desperately to regroup our forces. I am reminded of the sorrowful but bitter opening line of Robinson Jeffers' poem "Black Out," written just a day or two after Pearl Harbor: "The war that we have carefully for years provoked comes on us unprepared, amazed and indignant."

[1]Miller, William C. "Curricular Implications of Negotiation." *Educational Leadership* 23: 533-36; April 1966.

[2]Young, William F. "Curriculum Negotiations: Present Status — Future Trends." *Educational Leadership* 26: 341-43; January 1969.

[3]Bishop, Leslee J. *Collective Negotiation in Curriculum and Instruction: Questions and Concerns.* Washington, D. C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1967.

This is, I think, analogous to our present situation. Amazed? Yes. Indignant? Yes. Unprepared? Very much so. The mystery of it all is that it took teachers so long to assert themselves.

Teachers and teachers organizations are now demanding the right to be involved in decision making about curriculum and instruction. Such involvement is being written into contracts; in many cases demands are made that specific procedures for involvement or representation be spelled out, and in some cases the decisions about curriculum and instruction have themselves become subject to negotiation. My first reaction to such demands was one of considerable consternation. How did teachers ever get the notion that administrators and curriculum directors and supervisors did not want to involve them in decision making about curriculum and instruction? We have given support to the general principle that people should be involved in the making of decisions that will affect them, and in our schools we have long held to the belief that teachers should be involved in such decision making. What has gone wrong then? What brought about our Pearl Harbor?

I think if we could make a careful, objective analysis of the ways in which and the extent to which we have involved teachers in making decisions about curriculum and instruction, we would find that, in the main, they have systematically been excluded from involvement in the critical process of decision making and that, where they have been involved, they have been managed so effectively that they have operated from a very weak power base.

There has been slippage, as there so often is, between our ideal behavior and our actual behavior. The discrepancy between what we have said and what we have done surely has contributed to teachers' demands to be heard on these matters. What teacher, and what administrator for that matter, has not heard an explication of this decision-making process in a curriculum course at his university? Involving teachers in decisions about curriculum and instruction is a basic tenet of every respectable text in curriculum that I have ever seen. The tragedy of this development is that we have to fight out in a negotiation contract an activity that we have advocated for forty-five years.

There are some other factors also at work in the move by teachers to affect curriculum and instruction through negotiation. There is a convergence of forces composed of curriculum factors on one hand and of teacher or human factors on the other. These two forces have had a parallel development and cover roughly the same period of growth. I am referring to the curriculum reform movement as one force and to the growth of teacher power as the other.

On the one hand, then, we see the curriculum reform movement which has brought about some new dimensions in the process of curriculum change and in the traditional roles of the schools and of teachers in this process. For example, we have seen developing in the past ten years (a) much more rapid curriculum change; (b) many new modes of organizing for teaching and learning; (c) an increasing amount of curriculum planning taking place outside the school; (d) the curriculum package, complete with text

and accompanying materials; and (e) a new form of decision making about curriculum.

Now, keep in mind that these developments have occurred almost simultaneously with the development of the second force which consists of (a) more sophisticated teachers (in a technical, educational sense); (b) teacher power, the desire to influence the school organization and the educational process, including curriculum and instruction; and (c) a we-they dichotomy in which teachers have placed themselves in an adversary relationship with administrators and curriculum workers.

This, then, represents a convergence of two forces: the desire of teachers to exercise their power and influence just at the time when curriculum decision making has become far come complex than ever before. At the same time that teachers feel a sense of power they feel less able to influence. Teacher power appears to seek simplistic decision making in curriculum even though much of the decision making has already moved outside the arena of the public school and into the federally funded projects and the great hardware-software combines.

The demands of the teacher power force are not in keeping with the realities of the counterforce. The nature of curriculum development today dictates not a labor model, not the traditional concept, but a completely new model of decision making about curriculum and instruction.

A third force, one which both the curriculum makers and the teacher negotiator may yet have to reckon with, is the force of student power in making decisions about curriculum. This force, already felt at the university level, will become increasingly influential in the public schools.

The Crux of the Issue

Of utmost concern in viewing negotiation in curriculum and instruction is whether this is an acceptable, viable process of decision making about such matters. My answer, obviously, is that it is not. The present model for negotiation, based on the labor model of collective bargaining, is antithetical to all accepted principles of curriculum development.

In fact, when properly conceived of, curriculum issues defy negotiation. The nature of curriculum and instruction makes it axiomatic that they be treated openly, intellectually, experimentally, honestly, with all available wisdom and evidence brought to bear in the decisions. All of the elements affecting decision making in curriculum must be considered. I question whether such careful consideration can be made in a confrontation, in a situation in which sides are drawn and in which a desire to win a victory supplants rational decision making.

Although there is substantial agreement that curriculum and instruction should not be negotiable items, one finds that in practice they are very much negotiated. An NEA Research Division analysis of the content of negotiation agreements lists numerous instructional and related con-

cerns that are part of the agreements.[4] Perhaps we find ourselves negotiating in curriculum and instruction and not even knowing it, and this seems still more hazardous.

The struggle for power has created an understandable desire among teachers to affect if not control as many elements of the educational enterprise as possible, including the areas of curriculum and instruction. This power struggle has also divided people into two opposing camps: teachers in one and administrators in the other. Supervisors and curriculum workers have been left out in no-man's land, not sure which group to align themselves with, not even sure if they have a choice, observing their leadership functions being restricted by contract provision, and quite alarmed to discover that many questions about which they are uniquely qualified to speak are now being determined without them through a process of collective negotiation in which they do not share.

Curriculum workers must work effectively with *both* sides if they are to be successful in improving curriculum and instruction. It is ironical that a major tenet of negotiation — people being involved in decision making on matters that affect them — has been denied to supervisors and curriculum workers.

Curriculum negotiation is a self-defeating process. Correctly perceived, curriculum decisions must be characterized by change, flexibility, experimentation, evaluation, open-mindedness. To argue that we have not always had this does not deny the need. Negotiation and contractual agreements are (or have been, in the traditional labor model) the antithesis of this need, for the outcomes of negotiation usually result in frozen practices, legalized practices, and restriction on change.

In the light of present developments in curriculum and instruction, we can ill afford to be hamstrung by a process of confrontation and side-taking which prevents an objective, dispassionate analysis. Nor can we afford to make partisan questions out of curriculum and instruction issues. Such matters must not be decided on the basis of what one power group or another happens to prefer. I don't want decisions in curriculum to be made by any power group. In many school districts there has been justified criticism of an overcentralization of decision making, but we run the danger in curriculum negotiation of exchanging one form of centralization for another. It is not progress to move from decision making dominated by a board and an administration to decision making dominated by teachers. Power groups come into being because of strong, motivating self-interest. We must guard against any serving of self-interest in the matter of curriculum and instruction, an area in which we must make decisions based not on pressure or personal whim but on the best we know about instruction, learning, the nature of knowledge, the nature of our world, and the nature of our students. I am concerned that, when we decide curriculum and instruction questions on the basis of negotiation, bargaining, and com-

[4]National Education Association, Research Division. "What's Negotiable?" *NEA Research Bulletin* 46: 42-43; May 1968.

promise, we may end up with a decision which is defensible as a compromise but completely indefensible in the light of the best we know about teaching and learning. In collective negotiation, who negotiates for children? For good learning? It is educationally hazardous and professionally naïve to assume that critical issues in curriculum and instruction can be resolved by a vote or that good education would result from such a process.

Some Predictions

What I have described is the situation as it now exists. Unless some significant shifts in attitude and in process occur, the situation can only worsen. If we do the right things now, however, changes can occur. I would like to make a few predictions about some of these developments, some of which will occur almost certainly, others which will occur only if the profession seeks actively to bring them about.

1. Negotiation is not here to stay — at least not in its present form. After teachers achieve certain material and organizational goals, after they feel their work to be sufficiently rewarding in terms of financial reward, prestige, and working conditions, they will shift from a preoccupation with what are largely labor concerns and strategies to a more truly professional negotiation model and approach to curriculum.

2. In the race between teacher power and educational change, the power of educational change will win. New forms of organization, new staffing concepts, rapid and continuing curriculum change will demand a flexibility that invalidates the labor model in negotiation.

3. Master teachers will become much more "middle management" personnel and will become increasingly concerned about the goals of the school organization and their facilitation.

4. As a result of new interest and the influence of collective negotiation, teachers will be involved in decision making about curriculum and instruction to an extent never known before. Such involvement will surely add greater strength to education.

5. Eventually, we will have teachers in our schools who are more sensitive to teaching and learning, more astute, more alive intellectually, and more aware of the need for rational rather than emotional decision making.

6. With more extensive involvement of teachers in decision making will come greater responsibility and accountability. They will be held accountable in a way they are not now (and have never been) for the outcome of their instruction. We will no longer assume automatically that if a child fails it is his fault and has nothing to do with the instruction or the selection of learning activities. I call this "teacher accountability."

7. There will be an eventual easing of adversary relationships when salaries and working conditions become acceptable. When the concerns that divide us are resolved, then we will work together in a new way.